SAINT PAUL

AT

ATHENS.

SAINT PAUL

AT

ATHENS.

—— doctus Athenis.

HOR.

By KENRICK PRESCOT, D.D.
MASTER OF CATHARINE-HALL.

CAMBRIDGE,
Printed by J. ARCHDEACON, Printer to the UNIVERSITY;
Sold by T. & J. MERRILL in *Cambridge*, and by
CHARLES BATHURST in Fleet-ſtreet *London*.

M. DCC. LXX.

SAINT PAUL

AT

ATHENS.

IT is an intereſting point, that we can attend St. *Paul* to *Athens*, to which city, we read in the *Acts* of the *Apoſtles*, they that conducted him, brought him. The city *Athens*, famous and celebrated, appears magnified by his preſence. Whatever eloquence and philoſophy had deliver'd there, would likely on this occaſion be equal'd; and the *chriſtian* religion, like other inſtitutes, gain credit and eſteem.

The heart of every learned man grows warm upon the naming *Athens:* and ſo muſt that of every learned *Chriſtian*, when

 he

he enters this city with St. *Paul*. *Tully*, the light and ornament of *Rome*, admits his ſon into the ſame, for the name and authority this city bore for preceptors and learning. What then revolv'd in the mind of the great *Roman* orator, when in his ſtudy at leiſure he brought into his thoughts the admiſſion of his ſon into *Athens*, might very well engage us upon the introduction of St. *Paul* into the ſame learned city. *Tully* was pleaſed to exerciſe himſelf in drawing compariſons between the powers of eloquence and philoſophy. No inſtance could more pertinently, than this of the movement of St. *Paul* into *Athens*, incite us to watch the different ſucceſs and preference, as it is to be confer'd upon the orator or teacher: upon the publick ſpeaker, or upon the more temperate and retir'd writer of precepts, religion, and philoſophy. St. *Paul* can ſet our minds to work in both the characters. It ſeems to have been with him, as with *Tully*; he was very able to ſhew himſelf a maſter in each, as occaſion requir'd: and the learned *Roman* is thus far our guide, when in

the

the great examples he propounds, he concludes it the perſonal fondneſs to the art, that each of them ſhone in the character he choſe, when it was at will to have been equally renown'd for either. To this it was more pleaſing to deliver himſelf and his force of ſpeaking in publick cauſes and before the courts, whilſt the other fancied the more temperate ſtyle, and to inſtruct us in the duty and wiſdom of philoſophy. If to one you allow abilities, the ſame we find in the other. If the orator is diſtinguiſh'd for graces of ſpeech, the preceptor is ſo too. *Plato*, in the judgement of *Tully*, might have been a firſt pleader and orator; as of great name at the bar, as he was in the ſchools. But in theſe it was his perſonal ſatisfaction to be view'd, and in them be held moſt excellent. So he took to the more temperate ſtyle, and convey'd his knowledge down in a language antiquity has highly honoured, and judged a model worthy the gods to imitate. And the ſcholar of *Plato*, the illuſtrious *Demoſthenes*, by the ſame great author is deem'd to have

had it at will to be a firſt upon the liſt amongſt the maſters of wiſdom, as he ſtands now upon that of orators. After the ſame way of reckoning our learned guide concludes it to have been at their own pleaſure, that *Ariſtotle* was an eminent preceptor, not a ſpeaker; and *Iſocrates* the admirable ſpeaker, not a preceptor: For the powers and abilities of ſpeaking were great in both, and the graces of writing alike at will. If we change the perſons, if we turn from *Athens* to *Rome*, our deciſion, after compariſons made, will turn out the ſame: and this under aſſiſtance from the ſame *Roman* orator and philoſopher, who inſtructs us to make a judgement, not from *Grecian* examples, but from himſelf. If we dare to write him down the firſt of orators, we muſt take care at the ſame time this acknowledgement of power in the ſpeaker does not overſhadow thoſe graces and beauties in writing, by which his philoſophic diſcourſes entertain and convince us, and throw us into the higheſt admiration of eloquence and wiſdom, at once united in him.

him. It is no wonder theſe learned references employ us at the time we accompany St. *Paul* to *Athens*. We muſt imagine, his fame would cauſe the drawing a parallel to thoſe that have been mentioned. The able critic *Longinus*, where he treats of particular rules in the art of ſpeaking, does St. *Paul* great honour; and in making up a liſt of the firſt *Greek* examples, regiſters in the ſame band of worthies, *Demoſthenes*, *Lyſias*, *Eſchines*, *Ariſtides*, *Iſæus*, *Timarchus*, *Iſocrates*, *Dinarchus*, *Xenophon*, and *Paul* of *Tarſus*, ſupporter of a doctrine not yet eſtabliſhed. A more diſtinguiſhed proof of the power of St. *Paul* as a ſpeaker, if evidence from ſcripture, and his own behaviour either before *Agrippa*, or at *Athens*, is not to be taken in, could not be deſir'd, or invented more convincing, than this of the celebrated *Longinus*.

When we come to take under conſideration the force and perſuaſion in delivering the rules of life, and impreſſing them upon our hearts, and overcoming us in the point

of making his inſtructions our hope and our practice, we ſhall riſe on this argument to thoſe applauſes, which from the united praiſes of *Greece* for ages have waited upon the *divine* eſſays of *Plato*. St. *Paul*, when we try him, by his doctrines, by his precepts, by his elocution, and ſublime manner, fails not in any particular, wherein the conſummate *Plato* ſo highly was deſerving. View St. *Paul* in his epiſtle to the *Romans* fervently urging the doctrine of the union of the *Jew* with the reſt of the world, the ardor of the apoſtle in his own commiſſion, his heights of expreſſion upon the divine wiſdom and counſels in the chriſtian diſpenſation, nothing more clear, nothing more affecting, nothing more ſublime can be produc'd. Go along with St. *Paul* in his reflections, and ſee what remains to be added: — He proclaims, *O the depth of the riches both of the wiſdom and knowledge of God: how unſearchable are his judgements, and his ways paſt finding out!* 34. *For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counſellor?* 35. *Or who hath firſt given to him, and*

it

it ſhall be recompenſed unto him again? 36. *For of him, and to him are all things: to whom be glory for ever.* Amen. Here does the Apoſtle glow with uncommon fervor in thought and ſublimity, and as in many other inſtances intimates the want of words ſufficient to fill his ſentences, as being incapable to come up to be equal to the occaſion. But paſſages of diction alone are not the ſupports entirely of this divine epiſtle. When *Tully* gives us the defence of *Cteſiphon* for the higheſt exemplar of eloquence in the world, the form, and matter, and judgement in conſtituting the whole, are with him principal arguments of the deſert of that moſt admirable oration. The Plan of St. *Paul's* epiſtle is remarkable in theſe particulars. The parts which have been nam'd, are moſt intereſting and ſublime: the conduct of them above the common, and importing divine aſſiſtance. When St. *Paul* was lifted into paradiſe, he acknowledges himſelf then admitted to hear thoſe ἄῤῥητα *ineffable* things, out of the power of man to utter: he was admitted to higher know-

ledge, the ſenſe of reaching up to ἄῤῥητα, as in various inſtances amongſt the learned Ancients this ſenſe would appear ratified. The Apoſtle ſeems oftentimes to diſcover the inſtructions he then receiv'd. Would we frame any conception of the knowledge in ſuperior beings in paradiſe, we muſt allow heaven-born propoſitions, the glories of the Creator, his wiſdom and his counſels, his love and mercy in our redemption, to be intuitive and eaſy to them. The ſame ſubjects, without divine help, and where the underſtanding is not aſſiſted, will require more ſteps, and repeated connections to ſeveral intermediate ideas, before the mind can aſcend to a juſt comprehenſion of the grace and acts of divine wiſdom. His reliance upon figures, his frequent tranſitions, the profound myſtery of his argument, will anſwer for the management and diſcourſes of St. *Paul*, ſo much above the uſual faculties of men, adequate to the knowledge he had obtain'd. But in this matter let us conſult the Apoſtle himſelf. At leaſt let us not take for our guides polemical

mical controverſies, and ſophiſtical reaſonings; though in this the Apoſtle runs a parallel with the divine *Plato*, whoſe expoſitors have ſo darkly overſhadow'd his graces, and the beauty of his eloquence, in a manner nearly to extinguiſh them. St. *Paul* was not only empower'd to draw the curtain, and to give us an inſight into the higheſt divine counſels; but in caſes where the affections, where our lives and manners are to be form'd, our higheſt hopes and deſires to be ſatisfied; in his exhortations to a pious and good life, he bears a divine artillery in his hand, and often as he diſplays the ſacred fires, he demonſtrates at the ſame time his own great capacity to enforce and direct them.

Whilſt we remark that the movements of St. *Paul* were not thoſe of an ordinary perſon, we muſt remember likewiſe, that *Athens* was of a condition and fame ſuperior to other cities, eſpecially for productions in ſcience and learning. Then when St. *Paul* was brought to it, the city was, and had been

been long before, the reſidence and nurſery of the moſt eminent ſcholars. Happily in the air of this place ſprung up together a clear diſcernment in the underſtanding, and an ability to deliver the thoughts and reaſonings of the mind in a manner both pleaſing and inſtructive. The ſeveral maſters and preceptors, by the fame which they gain'd, were from time to time frequented by pupils and candidates of wiſdom from moſt known parts. *Greece* ſent her ſons, as partaking of the honours which *Athens* reflected upon the mother country. Thoſe of *Troy* and *Carthage* here met. *Rome* and *European* nations ſought the polite arts. *Egypt* and the coaſts of *Afric* reſort with the ſame intention of education and inſtruction. And the like uſeful learning called perſons of riches and nobility from the inward *Eaſtern* countries, ſo that no ſchools were ever more general than theſe of *Athens*; nor any place for the variety of ſciences, and the diverſity of ſtudents, more fitly ſtil'd an Univerſity. Whoever came amongſt them, found the different branches

of

of learning cultivated and eſtabliſhed by ample revenues: either as they firſt were founded by the city, by Patrons or Princes; or by the more private, though equally beneficial, teſtaments and legacies of thoſe who had received, or of thoſe who had preſided in part over, the education of this place. From hence, what learning loves, they had their privileges, their walks, and their ſchools, and their leiſure. Their lively manners gave them opportunity to converſe learnedly, and to debate in their common language publickly. Hence often have we in the memoirs of their able writers eſſays and diſcourſes, ſuch as were either fortuitouſly, or ſtatedly tranſacted in the learned way. This diſpoſition and turn of their common life affords a juſt inſight into the engagements of St. *Paul* during his ſtay, and lets us into a right notion of thoſe paſſages and incidents of diſcourſe, his earneſtneſs of debating would probably bring him to with thoſe he met. St. *Paul* was a ſcholar, was able to appeal to their poets and philoſophers. He could boaſt of countrymen

trymen and ſcholars of note from *Cilicia* and *Tarſus*, and was qualified in all reſpects to traverſe the city as an Academic. His diſcourſe, which we read rehears'd by St. *Luke* in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, bears many marks in the riſe and execution of cuſtoms and topics then prevailing in that learned city. Conſiderations, I have no doubt, of weight ſufficient to move St. *Auſtin* to make the ſight of St. *Paul* preaching at *Athens* one of his three remarkable wiſhes. For by obtaining this, the learned Father had become a ſpectator of the Apoſtle confronting and overcoming the moſt celebrated aſſembly of ſcholars in the world—He would have beheld St. *Paul* ſtanding in this awful place of judgement, and pleading in defence of reveal'd truths from their own principles: ſtrenuous on this ſolemn occaſion to aſſert the knowledge of ſalvation committed to his care, at the ſame time ſeeming *inter ſylvas Academi quærere verum*, and eager to acquit himſelf a ſcholar of their own.

The regard in St. *Paul* to prevailing opinions

nions and manners, places us under the neceſſity of taking his addreſs to the *Athenians* in the obliging and engaging ſtile, when he thus ſpeaks, *O ye men of Athens, I perceive ye are in all things very ſuperſtitious.* Our tranſlation would more exactly have delivered the mind of St. *Paul*, had it rendered the place with a regard to thoſe diſpoſitions towards religion, that then prevailed in *Athens*; *Ye are in all things very devout:* ſo indeed he won their attention, and reconciles them in his own favour to the diſcourſe he was then entering upon. The great maſters of Rhetoric furniſh us with certain inſtructions, with which they tell us, every orator, who hopes for ſucceſs, muſt be prepar'd, and appris'd of in the city of *Athens*. One of them, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, ſets down this point in particular, the commending them for their veneration to religion. *Plato* is a remarkable example in this caſe, who in his *Menexenus*, a funeral oration, and at the ſame time a panegyric upon the commonwealth of *Athens*, there performing the part of an ora-

orator, and indeed introducing eloquence itſelf under the perſon of *Aſpaſia*, does on the occaſion, in an attempt to give the world a copy of the higheſt graces ſpeech is capable of, follow the rule of addreſſing the *Athenians* with a praiſe and commendation for their religious obſervances. The ſubject St. *Paul* was intereſted in, muſt cauſe him to conſider by what topics on the like occaſions the people of *Athens* had before his time uſually been drawn to give their attention: and St. *Paul* has left too many inſtances of his learning to ſuffer us to imagine he could be ignorant of the proper manner of addreſſing himſelf at this juncture. He followed no doubt, the conſtant manner of the ſpeakers; and that inſtance of *Plato*, which has been already alluded to, may be read as an evidence of the addreſs and cuſtom prevailing in this particular. The words of *Plato* are, ἔϛι δε ἄξια ἡ χώρα κ᾽ ὑπὸ πάνϑων ἀνϑρώπων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ἃ μονον ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν· πολλαχῆ μὲν κ᾽ ἄλλη, πρῶτον δὲ κ᾽ μέγιϛον, ὅτι τυγχανει ἔσα ϑεοφιλής. That is, "Our coun-"try is worthy of all men to be praiſed; "not

" not by ourſelves only; and this upon " many conſiderations; but firſt and chiefly " for diſtinguiſhing itſelf by affection to " the gods."

The reſpect and veneration to religion and the ceremonies of religion, we find interwoven with the civil ſtate and conſtitution: and it was a principal diſpoſition in the manners and cuſtoms of the *Athenians*. We can have no better proof of this than in the characters of their more ſerious writers, particularly the learned tragedians, who come down to us as the Divines of *Athens*, the principal teachers of morality and religion there. *Athens*, whoſe clime has produced perſonages of the fineſt wit, with the moſt perfect underſtanding, was the parent and nurſery of *Eſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides:* and none have more contributed to the fame and learning in *Athens*, than theſe. The numerous and moſt voluminous teachers after them, religious, political, and moral, ever derive authority into their writings by references to theſe

theſe principal teachers. He is no *Athenian* reaſoner that is without them. It is to be a great ſtranger to the learning of *Athens*, not to have obſerved this. It is not unſeaſonable to remark thus far upon the authority of theſe venerable perſons, not only with a view to the devotion and ſtrict religion of the *Athenians*, but alſo on other accounts, where St. *Paul* ſeems to appeal to them. In teſtimony of the religious turn, one of theſe Divines has a remarkable obſervation---To oblige the city, he takes his harangue upon an affecting and ſolemn cataſtrophe, when the blind and exil'd *Oedipus* ſets unknowingly his foot on holy and forbidden ground. At this time we hear again of the devout diſpoſition of the *Athenians*; the line from *Sophocles* is this,

Ἐι τὰς Αθήνας φασὶ θεοσεβες ἄτας
Εἶναι. Οιδιπ. ἐν Κολ. pag. 280;

That is, "*Athens*, as they report, of "all cities the moſt devout towards the "Gods." Here again the compliment is repeated, very advantageouſly in the perſon of

of a venerable king and foreigner, and before an audience, moſt willing to receive it.

The ſtage and theatre of *Athens* ſupplies many proofs of the reigning ſentiments there in religion and manners. The Stage brought on many occaſions the graveſt authors to a trial, and took upon it to fix a criterion for religion and morality.---Poſſibly this in the end rendered the performances ſo eſtimable for their religious and moral precepts, and their authors more of authority, who had paſſed the ſentence of a people, whoſe birth conferred upon them ingenuity, whoſe cuſtoms made them religious. It is a well known piece of hiſtory, when the moſt divine of their favourite play writers, the learned and religious *Euripides*, was ſuſpected of an overſight in his regard to the Deity, he was obliged to excuſe his expreſſions before the offended *Athenians*, by begging them to ſee the iſſue of what he had delivered under an impious character; which excuſe was admitted, and the ingenious inventor pardoned for the liberty his

fancy had taken. St. *Luke* goes along with St. *Paul* in this account of the *Athenian* taſte and turn, when he ſets them down enquirers after news; a remark chiefly reſpecting their ardor to be inſtructed in matters of religion, and to repel innovation --- a temper, no doubt, that happily produc'd the preſent ſcene, St. *Paul* preaching at *Athens*. And how able he was to acquit himſelf, from his exordium we have already learn'd, from which we perceive him ſenſible of the taſk upon his hands, and that he engages to beſpeak the attention of his audience to the advantage of his Doctrines.

Opportunity is taken to bring the *Athenians* to the knowledge of the true God, to the duty of repentance, to the expectation of the reſurrection, and a day of general judgement, from what St. *Paul* found, or alighted upon, as he paſs'd, an altar with an inſcription to the *unknown God*. The name of the Creator, the maker of heaven and earth, had travers'd into the heathen nations, and was there receiv'd, for ſo much

we

we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, with the higheſt veneration under the title of the *unknown* God. Upon thoſe numerous altars, which have the plural number inſcriptions, that is to ſay, where we read Θεοῖς ἀγνώστοις, Diis incertis, ambiguis, and ξένοις, we muſt ſuppoſe the devotion, from whence thoſe altars aroſe, to proceed from the conſtant ſuperſtition prevailing with the Heathen, a zeal to invite the deities of foreign countries to become propitious to their particular ſtate and commonwealth, who ſtrove by this act of religion to gain over to themſelves the favour and protection of the Gods of other countries. This caus'd the inſcription to be general, for it was thus read, to the *Gods* of *Aſia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*, *foreign* and *unknown*: *Pauſanias* and *Philoſtratus* confirm to us, there being ſeveral altars of this ſort ſtanding at *Athens*. Thoſe mention'd by *Pauſanias* according to ſeveral learned conjectures, were rais'd at the ordinance of *Epimenides* with the plural number inſcription Θεοῖς ἀγνώστοις. The manner of the religious rite would cauſe

them to be many. Upon the *Cylonian* conſpiracy, or to avert a peſtilence and the anger of the Gods, *Epimenides* injoin'd that black ſheep ſhould be turn'd out, to luſtrate, and to take their own way, and upon what ſpot any ſheep ſtood ſtill, there to fix an altar. From theſe general inſcriptions the chief point appears, the anxiety of not knowing the names of the diſtant local Deities, to whom the worſhip was deſign'd. But with regard to the altar St. *Paul* ſpeaks of, we ſeem not to be under the neceſſity of ranking the *unknown* God there inſcrib'd under the above uncertainty, a name they were not appris'd of. The intention by that inſcription was, to naturalize that particular God, who had declar'd himſelf *unknown*, by having diſclaim'd a name. That the knowledge of ſuch a God being exiſting and being worſhipp'd, had ſpread itſelf over various nations, is manifeſt from the profeſſions the learned heathen have made concerning this matter. They not alone acknowledge him to be a particular God, but they tell us, where his worſhip

prevails.

prevails. The God of the *Jews*, *Plutarch* ſtiles him τὸν κεκρυμένον. *Dion Caſſius* τὸν ἀκαλονόμαστον, and ἄῤῥητον. *Lucan* makes the worſhip, paid to this deity, the diſtinguiſhing mark of the nation, in which the place of worſhip is, from others ready to ſerve under the banners of *Pompey*.

——— *et dedita ſacris*
Incerti Judæa Dei. ———

And perhaps in this place we had read *ignoti*, had the poet judg'd the ſound equally muſical.

We need not be ſurpris'd, when we ſee the particular name of the God of the *Jews*, ſo often confeſs'd by the heathen ſcholars, that there ſhould alſo be an altar rais'd to the ſame Deity. Though we cannot aſſign the preciſe time of fixing this act of devotion amongſt others at *Athens*, the above learned authors teſtify ſufficiently the knowledge of the Deity. The religion of an altar would of courſe follow, eſpecially with a people, as the *Athenians* were, from many caſes to be prov'd, over-eager to honour every God they heard of, by building an altar

to him. An opinion has therefore prevail'd with great probability, the *Athenians*, who incorporated *hebrew* laws into thoſe of their commonwealth, at the ſame time they collected theſe, could not forbear to obſerve the extraordinary tutelary titles of the Maker of heaven and earth, as he would appear in the Law, and ſo be often repeated by the *hebrew* lawgiver. They would read of him as the God of his people, the Lord of hoſts, and going out with their armies, and with ſuch intereſting titles, a people like the *Athenians*, ever aw'd by marks of the aſſiſtance of divine power, are juſtly ſuppos'd to have brought in his name, with the benefits they borrow'd from his laws.

The Heathen were ſenſible of a principal purpoſe in this inſcription to the *unknown* God; and that was, the expreſſion, as it was read, guarded againſt all imagination of his being a God, that could be repreſented by figure and image. The anecdote *Tacitus* has delivered upon this head, will be a proof of what is now alledg'd, and will at the ſame

ſame time be apply'd as a comment upon thoſe words above, ſet down from *Plutarch*, *Dion Caſſius* and *Lucan*, in confirmation thoſe learned authors have this ſenſe convey'd in the names of the God of the *Jews*, that image and figure was excluded from it. *Tacitus* writes, *Judæi ſola mente unumque numen intelligunt*. The import is nothing conſiderable, after what manner, and at what certain time, the altar at *Athens* was rais'd; but it ſeems altogether conſiſtent to be perſuaded the inſcription was in the ſingular number, and deſign'd in particular to the Maker of heaven and earth. This renders the diſſertation of St. *Paul* moſt natural, and proceeding from the altar he ſaw with a propriety, the moſt acute adverſary could find no objection to.

Plutarch delivers a ſentiment, remarkably refin'd, upon the name of the *unknown* God; a paſſage, it may be the firſt time appearing in a diſquiſition upon the preſent ſubject; in itſelf very ſerviceable, though not in the article before mentioned, the re-

fin'd part of it, for it is not here produc'd upon that account. *Plutarch* in his *Roman* queſtions informs us, there was a prohibition to name the chief guardian and tutelary God of *Rome*; and upon this matter he takes notice, " as the *Tyrians* are ſaid to " bind their images with cords, that they " might not be invited over by their ene- " mies, and paſs to their ſide, ſo the *Romans* " to ſecure their god in ſafer cuſtody, de- " creed him to be *ineffable* and *unknown*." ἔτως οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τὸ ἄῤῥητον καὶ τὸ ἄγνωστον ἀσφαλεστάτην εἶναι θεῷ καὶ βεβαιοτάτην φρέραν. *Plutarch*, as an ingenious antiquary indulges refin'd conjecture, but ſignifies his aſſertions are no more; he means them not an abſolute demonſtration: nor can his narrative, and the event he points to, be juſtly altogether wreſted from the honour of the Deity, to whom it is due; the Deity, whom in another place he has pronounc'd, and that perhaps upon better information in a ſubſequent diſcourſe, to be κεκρυμένον, and the God whom the *Jews* worſhipp'd. The deity of *Rome* he here characteriſes ἄῤῥητον

καὶ

καὶ ἄγνωστον. *Dion Caſſius*, as we have already ſeen, expreſly ſpeaks of the Deity of the *Jews*, and ſtiles him ἄῤῥητον; *Lucan* calls him *incertum*. What the learned have always been deſirous to meet with, they ſee in this paſſage an attribute of the Deity deſcrib'd by the word *unknown* in the ſingular number—*Plutarch* directly writes the word ἄγνωστον. We are not able with a like kind of authenticity to affirm an altar at *Rome* was inſcrib'd upon this occaſion with an inſcription to the *unknown* God, though we can arrive nearly to it; for we can produce a learned Chriſtian in the ſecond or third age, St. *Martialis*, relating the demolition of heathen altars at Rome, where only thoſe were ſpared, which were with the inſcription to the *unknown* God; and theſe, he ſays, they conſecrated. —A point eaſy to be accepted, as it came in courſe, and can be no other than a faithful account of a natural viciſſitude of things taking place, where chriſtianity ſucceeded into the reſpect, with which idolatry had been receiv'd. Moreover, who doubts with the *Roman* government

ment the devotion, when firſt accepted at *Rome*, would be diffus'd abroad? Hence by the teſtimony of *Strabo* there was with the *Celtiberians* the Θεὸς ἀνώνυμος, *Alexander* ab *Alexandro* witneſſes the Θεὸν ἄγνωστον to have been acknowledg'd in *Arabia*: it is not eaſy, even upon *Roman* authority, to forbid the Deity an entrance into the moſt devout of all cities *Athens*. No one can anſwer, where the *Romans* might firſt meet with, or ſay, whence it came to paſs, they ſhould pronounce the Deity, they receiv'd for the *unknown*, and under this name, to be the principal tutelary of *Rome*; and whom in conſequence, as *Plutarch* relates to us, they held to be local and peculiar to themſelves. Much time need not be ſpent in ſettling this point; only we may aſſure ourſelves of the conſequence. After the *Romans* had determin'd the Deity to be their own, they would entertain the higheſt veneration, and perform the moſt ſacred acts in honour of the Deity. Nothing would be wanting to perform due worſhip to the God, upon whom the good fortune of the city *Rome* was

was held dependant, and the fervent devotion at home would excite them to ſanctify with his name and altar other moſt eminent regions, ſubject to their power and dominion. The ſuperſtition and zeal in ſecuring the protection of the Gods, under whoſe ſecurity any people profeſſed to live, was attended with too much fearfulneſs, and too much ſuſpicion for the publick good, to ſuffer them to be negligent in any rite of religion, ſo far as to endanger his favour, and to be in hazard of loſing the good-will of the God they had eſpous'd. How much was apprehended from want of full and due regard in theſe particulars, the following maſterly lines from *Virgil* diſcover to us: which indeed come from the greateſt diſſembler, from *Sinon* loſt to all truth and religion. In which inſtance, although the ſpeaker is no example of ſuperſtitious zeal, his argument, and his auditors, by the effect his ſpeech had, are indeed perpetual proofs of the heighth of the zeal and ſuperſtition among the heathen Ancients in regard to their Gods. Thus the prince of

diſſemblers

diſſemblers moſt ſucceſsfully argues in the eloquent lines of *Virgil:*

Omnis ſpes Danaum, et cœpti fiducia belli
Palladis auxilio ſemper ſtetit: impius ex quo
Tydides ſed enim, ſcelerumque inventor Ulyſſes,
Fatale aggreſſi ſacrato avellere templo
Palladium, cæſis ſummæ cuſtodibus arcis,
Corripuere ſacram effigiem: manibuſque cruentis
Virgineas auſi Divæ contingere vittas;
Ex illo fluere, ac retro ſublapſa referri
Spes Danaum: fractæ vires, averſa Deæ mens.

Another office comes upon our hands. We have been engag'd in introducing a paſſage of *Plutarch* in aid to the preſent ſubject; now the taſk is to diſcard another, which ſeldom fails to appear in the front of ancient teſtimonies, bringing up a moſt powerful evidence upon the occaſion. Our alluſion is to the famous *oath*, commonly ſaid to be in a dialogue of *Lucian*, hitherto cuſtomarily plac'd before us with claſſic authority, in proof of the inſcription upon the altar at *Athens*, as St. *Paul* affirm'd it to be. The name of the dialogue is the *Philopatris*; the chief ſpeaker, who is covertly judg'd to repreſent

repreſent the author, makes uſe of this oath, νὴ τὸν ἄγνωστον ἐν Αθήναις. Towards the concluſion of the ſame dialogue we hear again of this affair, and read ἡμεις δὲ τὸν ἐν Αθήναις ἄγνωστον ἐφευρόντες, καὶ προσκυνήσαντες χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανον ἀνατείλαντες, τούτῳ εὐχαριστήσομεν: That is, *but having alighted upon the unknown God at Athens, worſhipping him, and having lift up our hands to him, we will render our thanks to him.* The *Philopatris* turns out a ſatyrical performance, full of rancour and ribbaldry upon ſeveral truths of our religion, and upon ſacred perſons concern'd in publiſhing it to the world. Moſt likely poſitions in the dialogue with reſpect to the doctrine of the Trinity awaken'd the learned world to be more diligent in finding out the authenticity of the work, and the time of the author, which ſeem now ſatisfactorily to be concluded upon. The *Philopatris* is a dialogue of uncommon ſtructure, and it hath obtain'd no fame more tender concerning it, than being the deform'd offſpring of a queſtion'd parent. It hath been judg'd to be the produce of the time,

when

when *Nero* reign'd, as it hath alſo of that, when *Trajan*. The turn to abuſe and calumny, with the conſtant title " a dialogue " of *Lucian*," was the cauſe of reputing him of *Samoſata*, the famous and the ingenious, to be the father. A diſſertation of the learned *Geſner*, after ſeveral fair diſcuſſions, and modeſt critical enquiries, fixes the birth of it to the time of the emperor *Julian*; notwithſtanding ſome aſſert the firſt appearance to have been in the reign of *Dioclefian*, finding it neceſſary to aſcribe a piece of ſuch famous ſlander upon the lives and doctrines of Chriſtians to a period, the enemies of our religion were in the higheſt power. Through the labours of the learned perſon before mention'd, we are inſtructed to receive the *Philopatris* as the work of a ſophiſt *Lucian*, favourite of *Julian*. The imitation in this dialogue of his nameſake of *Samoſata*, courted in a manner to croud all *Lucian* into it, with other matters pointing to times, as well as the whole being beneath the great maſter in Dialogue, are ſufficient reaſons to remove the deluſion which had

had prevail'd ſo long, and to reſtore the work to the true parent, who under cover of a ſame name, had ſent it out with claſſic and *attic* dignity.

Thus far was neceſſary before ſuch, who ſtill remain unacquainted with the hiſtory of the *Philopatris*; though indeed it is of no import, who the author was, or when the work firſt appear'd, in reſpect of the main matter, at preſent we are concern'd for. Our chief enquiry is, how far the *oath*, and the other famous paſſage in the dialogue, become new and different witneſſes to the truth of what St. *Paul* had aſſerted, when he made his report of an altar and inſcription at *Athens*. We are all of us eager, and greedily run to read a paſſage of a *greek* claſſic for this purpoſe. We ſee it ſingled out by itſelf, and accept it as a witneſs of higheſt validity. But all this to little purpoſe; becauſe we thus embrace for genuine proofs the oath and the ſentence from their outward appearance, and have never put the queſtion, what was their original deſign:—

The

The plain anſwer to which is, they both in the dialogue are a direct mockery of St. *Paul*, and of what he has wrote; they confound, and repeat in part, what St. *Paul* had ſaid; they take their riſe from his words, and cannot for that reaſon be a new and ſecond teſtimony. Had the Apoſtle never wrote, we had never ſeen them, therefore they are nothing beyond, or different to what he himſelf affirms; and all the authority for an altar and an inſcription, which they may be ſuppos'd to aver, is but as the Apoſtle had aver'd; and their deſign is to give us his words, and to play upon them. So that the contents of this dialogue have no pretence to be claſſic and new vouchers in this buſineſs, nor at all to be receiv'd in that character.

In juſtice to St. *Paul* notice ought to be taken of the perverſe dealing he meets with from the author of the dialogue, who is ſenſible of his advantage, in playing upon the words of St. *Paul*. The Apoſtle very ſenſibly and very pertinently aſſerts before the

the judges, *as I paſs'd along, I found an altar with this inſcription, To the unknown God.* The *Philopatris* on the other part is induſtrious to ridicule the Apoſtle upon his finding the *unknown* God at *Athens*; and this twice repeated, the *unknown God* at *Athens*, an eſſential part of the wit of the piece, as it ends in a whimſical aſcribing a certain victory, obtain'd in a diſtant region, to the *local* God at *Athens*. But how injurioufly the words and conduct of St. *Paul* are wreſted to ſerve ſo poor a cauſe, every one eaſily perceives.

Upon ſurmiſe another certain expreſſion may be particular, our thoughts are to be turn'd upon one ſingle word of the Dialogue, by which the Author has not alter'd the ſenſe and meaning of St. *Paul*, but probably may be judg'd to have made it more certain and clear. The Apoſtle writes εὗρον; that is, *I found:* the *Philopatris*, ἐφευρόντες; purpoſing to ſignify, *alighting upon*, or *finding by chance*. If any reſpect is to be paid to the expreſſion in the Dialogue, the in-

terpretation upon this authority of rightly underſtanding the deſign of the Apoſtle leads us to judge, that St. *Paul found*, or *alighted upon*, was not frequently to be met with in the city, an altar with an inſcription to the *unknown* God. This reaſoning in its full force can only ſet us upon thinking, it was not very probable an altar with the plural number inſcriptions, for they are not only confirm'd, as we have ſeen, to be ſet up at *Athens*, but alſo to have been very numerous. St. *Paul* by this explication is not prevented in his paſſage from meeting with the altar, which in more ancient times the *Athenians* might ordain neceſſary to add to their inſtances of devotion from the veneration they found due to the Maker of heaven and earth, with whoſe laws to his own choſen people they could ſcarce make an acquaintance without a knowledge at the ſame time of the lawgiver: or if the altar was more new, and the inſcription came to *Athens* under the *Roman* government, the ſame particular God is denoted, that is to ſay, the Maker of heaven and earth,

earth, with his name of the *ineffable* and *unknown*. A God there was under theſe and ſimilar appellations, and ſo profeſs'd to be by heathen ſcholars, as well as by St. *Paul*, each in their phraſe purpoſing a ſingle one, and the ſame Deity.

St. *Paul* proceeds in his diſcourſe, and after mentioning the true God, in the following manner enlarges, and makes further declaration of him from his power and works, as Maker and Governor of the Univerſe. The Apoſtle writes, *God that made the world and all things therein, ſeeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands:* 25. *Neither is worſhipped with men's hands, as though he needeth any thing, ſeeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things.* This doctrine, howſoever *chriſtian*, St. *Paul* finally ſhews to be agreeing to *Athenian* doctrine, and in the end it ſcarce differs from their own perſuaſions, ſupported in their own learning. A freſh obligation hence iſſues to view St. *Paul* deſigning to gain the attention of his preſent au-

dience by truths, which they themſelves had admitted. " For God ſtandeth in need, if " indeed there is a God, of nothing;" had been written by *Euripides*:

Δεῖται γὰρ θεὸς, εἰπερ ἔστι ὄντως θεὸς,
Οὐδένος. — Her. Fur. lin. 1345.

But this is not enough—You will ſee that example in *Heraclitus* the philoſopher of *Epheſus*, that it muſt be confeſs'd, St. *Paul* nearly makes a tranſcript from him. The above cited leader in philoſophy, for in that degree he ſtood rank'd amongſt the Learned at *Athens*, in his firſt epiſtle to *Hermodorus* queſtions his own countrymen in the following manner, " O ye ignorant, know you not that " God is not made with hands;" ἀπαίδευτοι, οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς χειροτμήτος; He goes on to ſay, " neither from the beginning hath " he a baſis to ſtand on, nor a wall to en- " compaſs him, but the whole world is his " temple, variegated with things that have " life, and with things that grow, and with " ſtars." Οὐ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάσιν ἔχει· οὐ δὲ ἔχει ἕνα περίβολον, ἀλλ' ὅλος ὁ κόσμος αὐτῷ ναός ἐστι, ζώοις

κὴ

καὶ φύτοις, καὶ ἄστροις πεποικιλμένος. In many places St. *Paul* vouchſafes to imbibe the ſtyle and temper of *Heraclitus:* and the cloſe imitation of that philoſopher, in the preſent caſe as it lays before us, was advanc'd we may be ſure for an authority, the learned, who heard him, could make no objection to. We may on this occaſion convert the order of time, and bring both *Heraclitus* and *Euripides* for expoſitors of that very particular phraſe; *Neither is worſhipped with men's hands, as though he needeth any thing.* For in the ſenſe it was of old receiv'd, the ſame it is in St. *Paul,* denoting the Maker of all things, in every part of the world hath left marks and ſigns of the worſhip and honour due to him, and that he is in no need of curious wrought images, or temples of admir'd workmanſhip and ſtructure to invite mankind to ſerve and honour him.

No leſs when St. *Paul* aſſerts, *God made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on the face of the earth, and hath determin'd the*

times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation, is he full of philoſophical and familiar language to the Learned, before whom he ſpoke. And though he preſſes a particular and conſtant Providence, both *Stoics* and *Epicureans*, moderate in their opinions, found him differ but little, if at all in words and expreſſions from themſelves. In many reſpects the doctrine would agree with articles they had in part accepted. They that would bleſs heaven for being brought into the world contemporaries with a wiſe and good man, a *Socrates*, or a *Plato*; and in reſult of their tenets would give out this their lot a gift of Providence, in the end would not much diſagree with St. *Paul*, who places our time, and birth, and habitation at the appointment of heaven. We have the whole burthen of this doctrine in the line of *Perſius*, the noble *ſtoic* pupil under *Cornutus*, the greateſt maſter of thoſe principles in his time. The verſe is this,

——— quem te Deus eſſe
Juſſit, et humanâ quâ parte locatus es in re.
Sat. 3. 12.

Study

Study thyſelf, what rank, or what degree,
The wiſe Creator hath ordain'd for thee.

Dryden.

The incitement to duty and thankfulneſs in our lives is moſt affecting, when we ſee the power of heaven condeſcending to enlighten and fix us, by confirming thoſe perſuaſions, that had prevail'd and been celebrated before, that God is our maker, our time, our place, and all we have, are as he aſſigns. When we have been vers'd in ſubjects, which, as far as knowledge goes back, had employ'd the beſt wit and ſenſe of the Learned, the converſant in theſe efforts of ancient wiſdom receive with higheſt ſatisfaction the authority of religion, join'd with them. The claſſic learning in all the branches, philoſophy, oratory, hiſtory, and poetry, hath been ſo perfect in repreſenting and expreſſing nature, with the concerns and duty of it, that it has won the hearts and obſervations of mankind, ſo as ever to pleaſe and inſtruct them. When religion falls in with the ancient compoſitions and

ſentiments, the learned ſtill feel more powerful emotion and conviction by means of the prejudices claſſic learning had laid them under.

But let us hear what follows this gift of creation, and of appointing our times and habitation: St. *Paul* teaches the *Athenians* the conſequence is, *that they ſhould ſeek the Lord if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us.* 28. *For in him we live, and move, and have our being:* as certain alſo of your own poets have ſaid; *for we are alſo his offſpring.*

The *poets* are here mention'd in the ſame ſenſe, Divines and teachers of religion might be call'd upon in theſe days for their authority. The part of St. *Paul*'s diſcourſe, laſt repeated, is compos'd of plain and eaſy words, but yet they are principal and leading expreſſions, and were uſed by the learned Ancients in their expoſitions of a Providence. St. *Paul*, in his preſent preaching before the *Athenians*, accommodates himſelf

to

to their manner of thinking and writing, and convinces them at the laſt upon their own principles. His words are ſo particular and appoſite, that he appeals to their own poets. How theſe were receiv'd for ſtandards of religion and morality, has already been ſet before you. *Greek* poets, and their ſcholars the *Romans*, have very copiouſly expreſs'd, where occaſion offer'd, the doctrine of a providence in terms as ſimilar as the ſubject from different authors, and different languages, could well be expected to be ſet down. *That God is not far from us, in him we live, and move, and have our being*, are phraſes the moſt repeated: but *to ſeek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him*, bears ſuch an alluſion to a full and learned paſſage in *Euripides*, the relation between them muſt give each enquiring ſtudent the greateſt pleaſure. Indeed the whole *Athenian* doctrine of a Providence is here deliver'd with much poetical beauty. *Euripides* writes,

Ὦ γῆς ὄχημα, καὶ ’πὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν,
Ὅστις ποθ’ εἶ σὺ, δυσ-όπας-ος εἰδέναι

Ζεὺς,

Ζεὺς, εἰ τ' ἀνάγκη φύσεως, εἰ τε νοῦς βροτῶν.
Προσηυξάμην σε, πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀψόφου
Βαίνων κελεύθου, κατὰ δίκην τὰ θνητ' ἄγεις.

Troades 1. 884.

Be pleas'd to accept this tranſlation.

O Jove, earth's chariot, and on earth thy ſeat
That haſt, whate'er thou be, moſt hard to know,
Nature's neceſſity, or mind of man,
To thee I pray, for thou doſt paſs in ways
Not full of noiſe, to tell us where thou mov'ſt,
But as thou guid'ſt aright th' affairs of men.

The path without noiſe, and to find God there, without being led by the ſenſe of hearing, how conformable to this paſſage, where in the Apoſtle God is ſaid to be the chariot in which we move, does St. *Paul* expreſs himſelf, when he directs us *to ſeek the Lord, if haply we feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us.* Let us conſider more particularly St. *Paul*'s uſe of the *greek* ψηλαφάω, which peculiarly means ſeeking after what lays not immediately open to the ſenſes, but for a diſcovery requires the ſearch here recommended, the exerciſe

exerciſe of our mind and underſtanding. We are not to inveſtigate the track and footſteps of Providence by marks and noiſe, as when men paſs in publick ways; not by what the eye and ear may lead to, but by the ſilent adminiſtration of the world, which after little obſervation is diſcover'd. This hidden and ſecret guidance of the univerſe *Manilius* teaches us to be in the Providence, that rules and guards the creation in its courſe.

Hoc opus immenſi conſtructum corpore mundi,
Membraque Naturæ, diverſa condita forma,
Aeris, atque Ignis, Terræ, Pelagique jacentis,
Vis animæ divina regit, ſacroque meatu
Conſpirat Deus, et *tacitâ* ratione gubernat.

Seeing there is at hand an ingenious comment upon two lines in *Homer* by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, relating to the indiſcernible nature of the Deity, it would be of hurt to the preſent argument wilfully to paſs it over.—It is the addreſs of the god *Apollo*, the guardian of *Troy*, to the angry and revengeful *Achilles*, *Apollo* had deceiv'd the

Grecian

Grecian champion, and drawn him into a purſuit of himſelf, in order to give the flying *Trojans* time to croud into the city, and ſave themſelves. On this occaſion he argues,

Τίπτε με Πήλεος υἱὲ ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκεις,
Αὐτὸς θνητὸς ἐών θεὸν ἄμβροτον;

Il. χ. 8.

Peleus' ſwift ſon, but mortal, why do you
On feet rely, and me a God purſue?

The learned Father thus gives his thoughts upon the place: ἐκ ἄλωτον γὰρ εἶναι θνητῷ, ἐδὲ καταλήπτον το Θεῖον, ἔτε ποσίν, ἔτε χερσὶν, ἔτε ὀφθάλμοις, ἐδὲ ὅλως τῷ σώματι δεδήλωκεν. He had obſerv'd *Homer* appear'd to have juſt ſentiments concerning the divine Being, and that the poet in the above paſſage had gave it as his opinion, the "Deity was not "to be taken by mortal man, nor to be laid "hold of by means of the feet, or eyes, or "hands, nor by the body all together."

Strom. 1. 2.

Known ample teſtimonies from the ancient learning to the aſſertions of St. *Paul* could

could be apply'd to as extant, in imitation of which the Apoſtle affirms our *living, moving, and being in God.* The learned ancient tragedian we have already conſulted, in the following manner deſcribes us ſurrounded, and in the embrace, as it were, of a Providence. Thus he writes,

Ὁρᾶς τὸν ὕψε, κὴ δ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα,
Καὶ γῆν περί ἔχονθ' ὑγραις ἐν ἀγκύλαις,
Τῦτον νομίζε Ζῆνα, τὸνθ' ἡγῦ θεόν.

This is tranſlated in *Cicero*, in the ſecond book de naturâ Deorum;

Vides ſublime fuſum, immoderatum æthera,
Qui tenero terram circumjectu amplectitur,
Hunc ſummum habeto Divûm, hunc perhibeto
Jovem.

In our own language it may ſtand thus,

On high the air, that widely ſpread you trace,
How all around the earth it does embrace,
Say this is *Jove*, deem this the mighty God.

It is a principal doctrine with the *Stoics* to account the world to be God. *Plutarch* (l. 1. cap. 7. Placit. Stoic.) lays down their doctrine

doctrine thus; θεὸν καὶ κόσμον, καὶ ἀστέρας, καὶ τὴν γῆν λέγεσι· Which *Seneca* confirms, when he ſays, l. Nat. Queſt. 20. 45. Vis Deum mundum vocare? non falleris. Ipſe enim totus eſt quod vides. Again, Quid eſt Deus? totum quod vides, et quod non vides totum. And he makes this inference, ſi ſolus eſt omnia, opus ſuum et extra et intra tenet. Prefat. ad Queſt. Nat. It is not our part to explain to a nicety theſe ſentiments, only to obſerve how one manner of expreſſing is continu'd, and to mark the ſame ideas and terms in St. *Paul*, *of living*, *moving*, *and being in God*, which come down from the earlieſt philoſophy in *Athens*. *Lucan* in the perſon of the *ſtoic Cato* delivers words and ſentiments like to thoſe preceding.

Eſtne Dei ſedes niſi terra, et pontus, et aer,
Et cœlum, et Virtus? ſuperos quid quærimus ultra?
Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris.

Some confuſion may be apprehended from that image and deſcription of this doctrine, which in *Euripides* is remarkable, who makes

makes the Deity both charioteer and chariot. *Ariſtotle* ſeems to have ſuffer'd cenſure on this account. It is ſaid of him in *Tully's* Naturâ Deorum; Ariſtoteles multa turbat. Modò enim menti tribuit omnem divinitatem, modò mundum ipſum Deum dicit eſſe. Modò quendam alium præficit mundo. To be the driver, and to be the machine is an imagination, we can't ſay the following elegant verſes of *Virgil* are without. The make and government of the world, thus he ſets it forth.

Principio cœlum ac terras, campoſque liquentes
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque aſtra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno ſe corpore miſcet.
Inde hominum pecorumque genus, vitæque volantum.

Æn. l. vi. 724.

Manilius in the following lines adopts the ſame kind of thinking, and diſcovers his treading after the philoſophers before him.

Qua pateat mundum divino numine verti,
Atque ipſum eſſe Deum.

Next

Next comes on in St. *Paul* a reference, as many learned perſons imagine, ſingly to his countryman, the profound aſtronomer and excellent philoſophic poet *Aratus*. Notice is taken a *Cilician* appeals to a *Cilician*, for St. *Paul* was a citizen of *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*. Had it been thus, he had in no way gone from that authority of learning which prevail'd in *Athens*, nor would his argument have been leſs academic. Many ſcholars there were in their youth reſidents in *Athens*, who were of *Troy*, of *Tarſus*, and other countries. Theſe at home ſat down oftentimes maſters of leſſer ſchools and academies. *Epheſus*, *Phœnicia*, and other places encourag'd ſuch maſters, as indeed few cities of riches and power, eſpecially *Greek*, and thoſe that traffick'd with *Greece*, but were diſpos'd to encourage learning within them. The moſt memorable preſidents of theſe diſtant nurſeries ſtill chooſe to carry teſtimonials of their merit from the mother univerſity, and many of them by name yet ſurvive in the ſchools of *Athens*. St. *Paul*, when young, no doubt had converſation with

with learned men in the city *Tarſus*, and his own genius quickly lifted him into an acquaintance with the taſte and learning cultivated both at home, and at *Athens*.

There is no queſtion St. *Paul* very well knew the magnificent exordium of the celebrated poet and aſtronomer *Aratus*, who, ſpeaking of the deity *Jupiter* as the firſt principle of this world, adds too, *We are alſo his offspring*. If two poets are appeal'd to, then all is well. But moſt ſurely St. *Paul* would have us not neglect to caſt our eye upon the hymn of *Cleanthes*, that prince of *ſtoic* philoſophers. So he brings us into the depth of his own argument. *Aratus* was eſteem'd by all, but his topics are the phænomena of nature. *Cleanthes* is a profeſs'd inſtructor in divinity; a principal of a ſect in the ſcience. Beſides the veneration he has receiv'd from his theological diſcourſes, a poem, or hymn in honour of the Deity, deſcends from him. His praiſes of the Creator, like thoſe of *David*, are full of devotion, full of awe and ſubmiſſion. In two

of his verſes he ſpeaks like thoſe philoſophers we have already look'd into. They are very remarkable, and if they ſtand with the criticiſm of *Henry Stephens*, we may judge even *Euripides* had imitated the thought in them.

——σέ γαρ πᾶσι θέμις θνήτοίσι προσαυδᾶν,
Ἐκ σοῦ γαρ γένος ἔσμεν, ὄχθ μίμημα λαχόντες
Μοῦνον, ὅσα ζώει τὲ καὶ ἕρπει θνητ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν.

Fitting it is to thee our voice we raiſe,
That thee all mortals celebrate and praiſe,
Thy offspring we, to thee a likeneſs bear,
In whom we move, in whom all Living are.

The learned *Gilbert Weſt*, who has given us an amiable tranſlation of the whole hymn, and who has tranſfer'd into his engliſh performance the original piety of the honour'd *Cleanthes*, conſents not however to adopt the reading thoroughly from that very learned editor *Henry Stephens*, and yet he confeſſes he cannot make ſenſe of the place without it. And this is the cauſe his tranſlation

ſlation is not here ſet to view, upon the preſent occaſion it being ſo pertinent to introduce the whole alteration. *Henry Stephens* obſerves ἦχε μίμημα is in the manuſcript. The verſe in quantity will thus be imperfect, as well as the ſenſe. The learned critic ſubſtitutes ὄχε into the place, obſerving, as Mr. *Weſt* informs us, " it ſignifies a ve-" hicle, what ſome philoſophers look'd upon " the body to be to the ſoul, which they eſ-" teem'd to be a portion of the deity." An obſervation we ſee well agreeing with the manner and expreſſions, in which the ancient learned were wont to deſcribe a Providence. And when *Euripides* took the thought Ω γῆς ὄχημα, he had no doubt in his mind this paſſage of *Cleanthes* in his hymn to the Creator.

Theſe efforts of St. *Paul* had hitherto ſuited entirely with the *Athenian* learning and religion. He was not rightly underſtood from the fame and diſcourſe which prevail'd in the city concerning him: and now when he draws his inference from the

whole, we find not an entire conviction taking place, though his accuſation appears much abated. There are conſiderations to leſſen the danger of St. *Paul* upon this critical conjuncture, the decaying power of the court, before which he pleads; and the manner of his doctrine, which entirely proceeded from the power and grace of that *unknown God*, whoſe altar they had rais'd. In the account of whoſe divine nature, if he did err: nay, though he brought thoſe ſtumbling ſtones in their way, the impiety of idol worſhip, the favourite and eſtabliſh'd religion, as well as that other, the new doctrine the *Reſurrection*, if he did err, it was *cum Patribus*. The ſages and learned of *Athens* did alike preach, and publiſh the ſame God. If there was an innovation in religion, he was as little guilty as thoſe around him. But the aſſertion of a *Reſurrection* ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of proceedings before the *Areopagus*: what now ends in a doctrine, not in the introduction of a new divine Being, as at firſt was apprehended would be the caſe. But the doctrine

doctrine of a reſurrection turns out a truth prov'd by fact, and an act of grace of the *unknowu God*, whom the city *Athens* devoutly had receiv'd. So St. *Paul* ſtill preſerves the divine reſpect of the altar; and in this appears more fortunate than *Socrates*, whoſe conſummate wiſdom render'd him obnoxious to the whole ſuperſtition of *Athens* under all the power of the ſtate, as it was pointed to diſlodge every ſacred idol there.

No event could be more intereſting to the chriſtian religion in the firſt progreſs, than the appearance of St. *Paul* at *Athens*; nor more agreeable to the character of the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, to overcome the moſt diſtinguiſh'd for piety and learning upon their own principles and perſuaſions. Let thoſe, who are too apt to view St. *Paul* as driven by enthuſiaſtic ſymptoms, now aſk themſelves, whether they do indeed juſtly charge him, or whether they are not in danger of bringing an opprobrium on *Athens* and her ſcholars, that ſtand renown'd upon the regiſter of fame for their fine under-

 ſtanding,

ſtanding, and the beſt judgement in framing the inſtitutes of knowledge and wiſdom. A city, that had paſs'd on through time eſteem'd for wiſdom and learning to that degree, as to obtain the ſplendid names, the ſchool and wiſdom of *Greece*, the ſupport and guardian, the *Greece* of *Greece*, and this with reference to other *Greek* regions that excell'd the countries where barbariſm reign'd, the ſchool of all men, wiſdom's *Prytaneum*, and other honourable titles, was a ſpot worthy the call of the learned St. *Paul*, there to open his commiſſion, and to bring in the beſt and moſt excellent wiſdom and knowledge. The encomiums and high names of *Athens*, thoſe the greateſt ornaments confer'd upon her, have been already recited. Should we come to the *Romans*, to a moſt worthy *Atticus*, or a moſt eloquent *Cicero*, *Athens* would be found in *Rome* no leſs celebrated, than in *Greece*. When the *chriſtian* æra had begun, and the moſt diſtinguiſh'd and moſt learned *Chriſtians* act their part, they ſtill join with the learned heathen world in honouring and receiving the

the learning of *Athens.* In every view ſo advantageous it turns out for the ſervice of our religion, St. *Paul* ſo conducted himſelf, as to unite the intereſt of his doctrines with the authority and ſucceſs, learning had then gain'd in the world.

We ſee he failed not in his intent. *Longinus* in his memorial points to this appearance of St. *Paul.* He writes down directly, πρῶτον φημὶ διϊςάμενον δόγματος ἀναποδείκτȣ. That is, *I mean him that firſt taught a religion not ſufficiently prov'd.* If we render it a religion *not yet eſtabliſh'd*, tho' this anſwers with ſome latitude the new and freſh publication of Chriſtianity, it turns out not critically true, and rather is the conſtruction of ἀναποδέκτȣ, than of the original proper one: which in this caſe cannot juſtly be parted with. When we ſtile it a religion *not yet prov'd*, this ſcarcely comes up to the preſent caſe, and we loſe by it a good deal, that confirms the authenticity of the paſſage. For there is a peculiar intent in calling chriſtianity a religion *not yet prov'd.* It was the character

of Chriſtianity amongſt ſcholars in the time of *Longinus*, and a prejudice that made the reception of it more difficult than that of other principles into the learned world. This jointly with the innate oppoſition to image and idol worſhip, can in a great meaſure account for the rejection of Chriſtianity among the Heathen. To underſtand the full import of naming the chriſtian religion a doctrine *not prov'd*, we muſt take notice, the ſcholars in the early times brought it under this character, ſeeing it came to their knowledge, with the authority of facts and miracles, ſuch as the reſurrection does, through the power of our Saviour; and not by the methods of reaſoning and proofs by human wiſdom, then in high repute with the learned world.

We have already look'd into this encomium of St. *Paul* by *Longinus*. We are oblig'd to the very learned perſon who has ſhewn it us, as an extract to be read on the moſt excellent ancient manuſcript of the goſpel in the *Vatican*. In the time of *Longinus*

ginus the ſcriptures were in the hands of the firſt ſcholars. *Porphyry*, a contemporary, and an *Athenian* ſcholar, penetrated far into the divine writings, and profeſs'd himſelf their adverſary entirely. We might ſtop here, and conſider, how much has depended upon the humour and conſtitution of thoſe, who ſtand high in the republick of letters. The love in *Porphyry* for myſterious and recondite knowledge, caus'd him to reject the plaineſt truths. Nay, if we deſcend lower to the emperor *Julian*, the ſame temper we ſhall find, threw a veil over the ſtrongeſt lights and plaineſt truths of chriſtianity. *Longinus*, a maſter in oratory, accuſtom'd to receive and ſpeak of things in their natural and true way, conceives the great deſigns of our religion, and frankly expreſſes his opinion upon the ſtate and condition of the chriſtian tenets, as far as they had proceeded. Many learned Heathen, and many learned Chriſtians, in perſon and name well known to each other, flouriſh'd in theſe times. In the midſt of ſuch eminent perſons, a maſter and profeſſor

of

of eloquence in *Athens* notes down his remark upon St. *Paul*; and happily does it in thoſe terms, which could hardly have been thought of, could we fancy there had been any intent to cheat us into a good opinion of St. *Paul* under the authority of ſo great a name as that of *Longinus*. Beſides the fidelity under which the extract appears, we are gratify'd ſtill more, that the *Athenian* profeſſor ſeems to caſt his eye upon St. *Paul* before the *Areopagus*, for the words πρῶτον διϊσχυριζόμενον, *firſt publiſhing*, ſuffer us not to think of any other occaſion: and it yet more heightens the character of the Apoſtle, that this celebrated paſſage in his applauſe is taken from a diſcourſe upon *forenſic* Speaking. Thus with greateſt conviction *Longinus* ratifies, and regiſters with due honour, the eloquence of St. *Paul* at *Athens*.

If we leave for a time the precincts of the learned *Athens*, and paſs on to other places with St. *Paul*, we ſhall find he often ſpeaks claſſically, when occaſion ſerves, and forgets not the veneration the learning of *A-*

thens

thens in every region meets with. In *Rome* the Apoſtle acquits himſelf in the learned way in his epiſtles, and in one remarkable inſtance in that from thence to *Titus*. This ſhould immediately be conſider'd, had not *Rome* itſelf detain'd us, by an expreſſion, which concerns the literary remains of *Rome*, and therefore ſeems to demand ſome conſideration before we leave the place.—And we may more willingly ſtay to hear it, becauſe in ſome manner, independent of the credit of ſcripture, it ſerves to authenticate and give proof to the hiſtory of St. *Paul's* reſidence there. St. *Paul* writes in his ſecond to *Timothy* of his appearance before *Nero*, and his eſcape with life, and piouſly ſays, *I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.*

When the Apoſtle fell, it was in all probability to ſatisfy the general rage conceiv'd againſt the Chriſtians upon the fire of *Rome*: at leaſt before that rage was abated. A rage it was of the people: a rage that aroſe from ſuperſtition againſt the wretched Chriſtians.

Chriſtians. This rage was conducted by the ſupreme magiſtrate; and the emperor is a character too liable to be judg'd very prompt and eager to carry to the higheſt an act of brutal cruelty at any rate, without the excuſe of only complying with the inclinations and demands of his people.

If *Nero* at any time appears friendly to the learned, ſoon again are we forc'd to alter our opinion, and we find him deſtroying thoſe now, who were not long ago his greateſt favourites. The fine verſification and high compliment of *Lucan* ſaves not *Lucan*. The art, that united theſe brother poets, after ſome little time becomes the chief cauſe of the fatal end of *Lucan*. This poet gives not earth, but heaven into the hands and direction of *Nero*. And to heighten the emperor's great power and ability, the high ſpirited *Phaeton* is introduc'd to aſſiſt in raiſing the compliment. A thought very probably more induſtriouſly introduc'd from an alluſion to the boaſted piece of the emperor, which repreſented the fall

fall and failure in the raſh attempt of the ſon of *Phœbus* in taking the rule of the world upon him for a day.

Enormous as he was, and ſome of his predeceſſors had been, both they and he, and ſucceeding emperors of the moſt amiable character, were ſignal patrons to foreign ſcholars, whom they receiv'd into the court and the neighbourhood, conferring ſtipends and ſalaries, and other acts of favour. Theſe ſcholars were more welcome to the court than the city: and often when they had been much careſs'd, of a ſudden they fell under fits of high diſpleaſure; and commonly the diſlike againſt them aroſe more from the ſenators and the citizens, than the ill humour of the emperor. Theſe profeſſors of learning were from *Greece* and the *Eaſt*, and diverſe countries. The Apoſtle St. *Paul* probably claſs'd with them, as other learned converts to chriſtianity might do. The ſcholars of *Judæa* had by this channel brought in amongſt the *Romans* thoſe anecdotes, and peculiar tenets, concerning the people

people of the *Jews*, which though imperfect, may be trac'd in *Virgil* and *Juvenal*, and other *Roman* authors. A verſe of *Juvenal* has met with ſmall difficulty, which may be remov'd upon a reference to the ſcriptures. The line now in common is read,

Nil præter nubes et cæli numen adorant.

The word *lumen* is rejected, but perhaps hath a foundation in ſcripture, as ſure as the foregoing part of the line. For no doubt that takes the expreſſion from the prevailing deſcription of the *Meſſiah*, as it began from the prophet *Daniel*, *one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven.—And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages ſhould ſerve him.* Our Saviour's anſwer, when the high prieſt adjur'd him to tell, *whether he was the Chriſt the Son of God*, diſcovers, how the deſcription by *Daniel* ſat upon the minds of the people, eſpecially thoſe in the character of ſcholars. Our Saviour replies to the queſtion in this manner; *You ſhall ſee the Son of man ſitting on the right hand*

hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven. Hereupon is he charg'd with blaſphemy by the high prieſt and the *Sanhedrim*; a ſentence that ſhews the religion and adoration, as it ſtands in *Juvenal*, and accounts alſo for his knowledge of the matter from the learned *Jews*, that ſettled in *Rome*. The latter part of the line with the word *lumen* has ſcripture to ſupport it; firſt, the prophet *Malachi*, who repreſents the ſame object of our worſhip as the *ſun of righteouſneſs*; and St. *Luke*, who ſignifies to us the general regard to our Saviour in the ſtyle that *Juvenal* uſes, *through the tender mercy of God, whereby the day-ſpring from on high hath viſited us.*

Many imperfect fancies prevail'd from the predictions which had been communicated from the prophets and ſcripture. And the truth was receiv'd, though much confounded by interpretations of perſons, who were able to be carriers of the common expectations in *Judæa*, but were not able to ſpeak of them in their right ſenſe, nor to explain

the divine counſels in them. From the ſcholars, eſtabliſh'd in and about court, *Nero* receiv'd at the time of his diſtreſs, this remarkable oracular comfort, as it ſtands in *Seutonius*, ſpoſponderunt quidam *deſtituto* Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hieroſolymorum. That is, they promiſe him by name the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, and this when in a forſaken ſtate or condition. This came forth under the character of a divine oracle explain'd; and though very unworthily miſconſtru'd in favour of the perſon of *Nero*, does point out to us the perſonal hearing, which at times the learned were honour'd with from the Emperor. Scholars of all denominations were at the levees, and attended the firſt appearance of the emperor in the morning. The learned from *Syria* and *Greece* were in theſe companies, thoſe excellent in various ſciences, and for the moſt part foreigners, grammarians, rhetoricians, ſtudents in natural philoſophy, moraliſts, poets, orators, profeſſors of note, and others in their turn attended, and became known to the emperor.

In

In this claſs of foreign ſcholars was *Epictetus* afterwards, as St. *Paul* now, though not in a degree to be advis'd with as a friend. The apoſtle had certainly not ſo deceiv'd the emperor, nor deluded him with the falſe applications of the prophecies as favourable to him.

St. *Paul* had his firſt tryal before *Cæſar*. He was there a ſtate priſoner, preſented and brought before the emperor, according to the general perſuaſion, under favourable prejudices from the officer to whoſe care he was committed. Nothing of the tryal tranſpires, except what may be diſcover'd from the apoſtles own words; *The Lord ſtood with me, and ſtrengthed me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear: and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.* We have nonothing further than this declaration concerning his caſe; enough to ſhew it was more than ordinary, and would, if thoroughly deſcribed, have prov'd of great importance, and very ſingular. St. *Chryſoſtom*, in his florid manner of Writing, places be-

fore us the priſoner and the emperor, and after drawing compariſons between them, prefers the ſtation of the firſt to all the exceſſive and imperial glories of the other. Still nothing particular is to be gather'd. After this St. *Paul* appears under ſome favour, ſuch as with his chain, of which he was not aſham'd, was to be enjoy'd. This faſten'd by one end to his right hand, and to the left of a ſoldier at the other, did not hinder him from paſſing to various Parts in the city. He was thus at liberty to viſit, to write, and to purſue ſeveral purpoſes.

What St. *Paul* expreſs'd in gratitude to heaven for his acquittance before *Nero*, *I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion*; conveys with it a point of *Roman* learning, and on that account is of claſſical enquiry. St. *Peter* when at *Rome*, joins in the ſame character of *Nero*, when he warns his converts to prepare for afflictions, which *Nero* had ordain'd to be brought on in ſeveral regions by his officers, and therefore by St. *Peter* is deſcrib'd to go about as a *roaring lion*

lion. Both the apoſtles deliver the word of the day, the character *Nero* bore in the court, and the city. He was ſtyl'd a *lion*, as other princes in their time have been denominated a *Jupiter*, a *Solomon*; and others a *Fox*, a *Wolf*; ſo in the degrading ſtyle *Nero* on account of his cruelties, in his own court is ſpoken of as a *lion*. *Lipſius* brings in a witneſs of this matter, where an antient commentator is produc'd by him in evidence of the worth and merit of *Seneca*. The perſon appeal'd to thus ſtands, when he is brought before us by *Lipſius*. [Commentarius antiquus in Juvenalis Satyr. v. vers. c. ix. A *Senecâ*] hic ſub Claudio quaſi conſcius adulteriorum Juliæ Germanici filiæ, in Corſicam relegatus, poſt triennium revocatus eſt: qui etſi magno deſiderio Athenas intenderet, ab Agrippina tamen erudiendo Neroni in palatium adductus, ſævum immanemque natum ſenſit cito, et mitigavit: inter familiares ſolitus dicere, *non fore ſævo illi leoni, quin guſtato ſemel hominis cruore, ingenita redeat ſævitia.* Huic poſtremo, quod habitus eſſet inter conſcios conjurationis Pi-

ſonianæ, Nero per Tribunum ultimam neceſſitatem denuntiavit. Hic interritus, amicorum animos, quibus jam ejus caſus lachrymas exciverat, ad firmitudinem revocavit, rogitans: *ubi præcepta ſapientiæ? ubi per tot annos meditata ratio adverſus imminentia? cui præterea ignara fuit Neronis ſævitia? neque aliud ſupereſſe poſt matrem fratremque interfectos, quam ut educatoris præceptoriſque necem adjiceret.* Deinde ſibi venam præſecans, crurumque venas abrumpens, et durante tractu lenitudineque mortis, hauſto veneno, poſtremo calidæ aquæ ſtagnum introiens, exanimatus eſt.

With this authority we receive the name and character of *Nero*, confirm'd to be in uſe in his own court: and we are led to another particular which alſo ends in ſtrengthning what has been before alledg'd. We draw from hence a reaſonable conjecture, that *Seneca* in his two treatiſes upon *Clemency*, by a dangerous adventure in wit and learning, plays the diſſembler with his ſcholar *Nero*, and acts what the learned call the

the εἰρωνα. Ingeniouſly this, but dangerouſly; for as our favourite poet ſays, there is ſome difference between rouſing a lion and a hare. *Socrates* had play'd the ſame part of being what he was not, but with tamer animals, and thoſe that would not hurt him; *Seneca* upon diſcovery had been torn limb from limb. It was nearly impoſſible *Nero* could interpret the doctrine of his preceptor againſt himſelf, eſpecially when it is in introduc'd with a plain matter of fact, an inſtance of uncommon tenderneſs and humanity. The tutor, to turn the thoughts of the emperor from all imagination of his own being impeach'd of cruelty and ſavageneſs, early gains him by remembring his mercy, and even ſoftneſs of mind upon occaſion of a dead warrant being preſented to him to ſign. Then, he tells us, came forth that memorable ſaying from *Nero*, *vellem neſcire litteras*. No ſooner is this uttered, but *Seneca* fortifies and hides himſelf under the following exclamations. O dignam vocem, O vocem in concionem omnium mittendam. O vocem generis humani inno-

centiâ dignam, and with a great deal more he proceeds, ſecuring himſelf and his main purpoſe from all dangerous apprehenſions in *Nero*: and in duty bound he in his courſe inſtills the moſt humane and the moſt noble principles of mildneſs into the breaſt of his royal pupil: though at the ſame time in the draughts he makes of moſt ſavage and cruel princes, he leaves the unprejudic'd by-ſtander to obſerve, his chief deſign is the emperor's own picture. And whilſt he introduces priſoners rattling their chains as it were in his ears, and brings before him antient ſovereigns as the monſters of the world, he covertly means no other deſcription than of *Cæſar* that is before him. Hence St. *Paul* aver'd no more than *Seneca* has done. Hence when *Seneca* crys out, quod iſtud Dii boni malum eſt, occidere, ſævire, delectari ſono catenarnm; et civium capita decidere, quocunque ventum eſt multum ſanguinis fundere, aſpectu ſuo terrere ac fugare? — Afterwards theſe horrible deeds, injicere tectis ignem, et unum occidi aut alterum: though inſinuated by the begin-

beginning not to belong to the then imperial character, cannot otherwiſe have been deſign'd, as the frame of the whole gives liberty to conjecture, than to point out the author's own pupil. And we cannot forbear being under the ſame prejudice, notwithſtanding his firſt encomiums forbid it, ſo high his figure goes, when he proceeds in the following words. Quid ergo opponitur clementiæ, crudelitas, quæ nihil aliud eſt quam atrocitas animi in exigendis pœnis. Sed quidam non exigunt pœnas, crudeles tamen ſunt: tanquam qui ignotos homines et obvios non in compendium, ſed occidendi causâ occidunt. Nec interficere contenti, ſæviunt, ut Sinis ille, et Procruſtes, et Piratæ, qui captos verberant, et in ignem vivos imponunt. The *Roman* Philoſopher began at the fountain head, and taught us the explication of all theſe horrible deeds. His whole leſſon is to be underſtood from that which follows. Quid enim intereſt, oro te Alexander, leoni Lyſimachum objicias, an ipſe laceres dentibus tuis? tuum illud os eſt, tua illa feritas. O quam cupe-

res tibi potius ungues esse, tibi rictum illum edendorum hominum capacem.

Before we leave this *Roman* scene, an attempt will be made to assist the learned *Cave*, who cannot consent to believe, the second epistle to *Timothy* was only a little while before the Apostle suffer'd martyrdom. That learned Divine rightly judges, there are no signs of the Apostle expecting a quick execution: but rather much to the contrary, as inviting persons at great distance to come to him, what they actually did. And in particular the disciple *Timothy* returned from the distant city *Ephesus*, join'd in epistles to Churches, and to *Philemon* afterwards. *Eusebius*, and the ancients, and many moderns after them, were induc'd to the contrary opinion by the passage wherein St. *Paul* wrote, *I am now ready to be offer'd, and the time of my departure is at hand.* To avoid the force of this, as it does not well fall in with the observations, the learned *Cave* resolves the expression to signify no more than the imminent danger St. *Paul* had

had been in. There is in the paſſage, what gives room for another kind of conjecture. The deſign of the place may hitherto have been overlook'd by means of that quick digreſſion, here met with; a figure in writing frequent with St. *Paul.* For this reaſon, a learned reader will be pleas'd to ſee what may be offer'd to reconcile the Apoſtle with other parts of the Epiſtle, and ſo remove the opinion, that he declares any thing concerning his own death. For this purpoſe let us view the entire place in the epiſtle.

But do thy diligence in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangeliſt, make full proof of thy miniſtry.

6. *For I am now ready to be offer'd, and the the time of my departure is at hand.*

7. *I have fought a good fight, I have finiſhed my courſe, I have kept the faith.*

8. *Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous judge ſhall give me at that day: and not to me only, but to all them alſo that love his appearing.*

9. *Do*

9. *Do thy diligence to come ſhortly unto me.*
11. *Take Mark, and bring him with thee.*

We muſt enquire for ſome meaning beyond the plain literal ſenſe, for what is written could not be true of St. *Paul*, "I am "now offer'd, or ſacrific'd already," the direct conſtruction of the original σπενδομαι. It is ingenious to imagine the Apoſtle ſpeaks prophetically, and then he is to be underſtood of preparing for what he expected his own death, the appointed time of which might by particular revelation be known to him. But it is difficult thus to receive the paſſage as a relation of St. *Paul's* own caſe, as it may otherwiſe be connected with the directions to *Timothy* that ſurround it, and rather may be judg'd finally to be a part and duty belonging to one of them.

An Inſtruction of the Apoſtle to *Timothy* is, Ep. 2. cap. 4. *Make full proof of thy miniſtry*; and immediately follows the detail in queſtion, *for I am now ready to be offer'd*, and the reſt. The original is, τὴν διακονίαν σὲ πληρο-

πληροφόρησον. The Engliſh rendring, though proper, may miſlead us, if not confin'd to the buſineſs, the *Greek* requires. For *Timothy* is bound to ſome duty: it may be thought, he was to make a publick manifeſtation of doctrine and religion to thoſe about him; but this is not the caſe. The *Greek* brings upon him a different kind of employ; and he receives from the Apoſtle direction to perfect in himſelf a full ſatisfaction of mind in the duty he was upon. He was to take care, he remain'd under the fulleſt conviction within himſelf. Plenè perſuaſum habeto. The *Lexicon* conſtructions of the *Greek* are plenè compertum habere, plene certiorari, plene perſuaſum habere; which interpretations aſſign it a charge upon *Timothy*, that he ſhould in his own mind come to the fulleſt ſatisfaction concerning his office as an evangeliſt. And with the orders he receives, the Apoſtle ſupplies him with a method of making this full ſatisfaction to himſelf, and therefore places into his hands the following proof, which his diſciple is to repeat, *I am now*

ready

ready to be offer'd. I have fought a good fight. I have finiſhed my courſe, and ſo the whole of the excellent leſſon. Moſt preachers upon this ſubject have in a manner confirm'd the preſent deſign of the place by a conſtant acknowledgement, how excellently fitted it is for every miniſter of God's Word in every age to try himſelf by it. Without this repetition of the words above, the direction *make full proof of thy miniſtry*, a rule to be made perſonal to himſelf, could not have been fulfilled by *Timothy*. We may alſo eaſily accept it as a form to be repeated, ſeeing St. *Paul* has recommended in the ſame terms, and ſet down the ſame duty in a direct and plain manner, when he writes in the firſt epiſtle, *but thou, O man of God, fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life*. This fight of Faith with all the other terms of reward and future life, is a duty frequently advis'd by St. *Paul*, ſo that we may with great readineſs receive the intimations of it here, as propounded to another by the Apoſtle, and not as perſonal to himſelf. Neither indeed is there any pur-

poſe

poſe by this expoſition to exclude St. *Paul* from the intereſt of the excellent leſſon, he recommends to be recited by his ſcholar; but the moſt contended for in the preſent caſe is, the Apoſtle places that exhortation and conviction in the mouth of a ſecond, what it may be preſum'd he was wont often to repeat to himſelf in full proof and ſatisfaction of his own miniſtry. The rule coming under the perſon of St. *Paul*, that is to ſay, *I am now ready to be offer'd*, is to be reconcil'd by that turn to quick tranſitions frequent with the Apoſtle, who ſeems fond in ſpeaking of others in the figurative perſon. In the preſent caſe he means his diſciple *Timothy*, though the declaration appears to be made in his own name. Thus much ſeems to follow upon the original direction of the Apoſtle, that *Timothy* ſhould give full proof of his miniſtry to *himſelf*, a part he was to act privately with his own mind, and which he can by no means ſo well perform as by the repetition of the ſchedule the Apoſtle as a form of ſelf examination tranſmits to him. Thus the

epiſtle

epiſtle is not embaraſſed with thoſe inconſiſtencies, the learned Dr. *Cave* was in concern for: and we are under no neceſſity to apprehend a ſpeedy ſuffering by the Apoſtle was to take place, the difficulty undertaken to be remov'd.

We muſt now return from *Rome* to *Greece*, and not ſtay for obſervations upon the ſalutations ſent to *Philippi* from *Cæſar's* houſhold, which might admit us into further particulars, relating to St. *Paul's* time in the court of *Rome*. St. *Paul* had his particular ſatisfaction in being upon claſſic ground. Indeed it has been ſufficiently prov'd that he was ſo from his conduct at *Athens*. In his epiſtle to the *Corinthians* we ſee him exerciſe this pleaſure, as other ſcholars do. In the expreſſions, *let us eat and drink for to morrow we die*, ſo much is due to the *Septuagint*, theſe words in *Iſaiah*, are transfer'd from thence. But the practiſe is *Corinthian*, and *Greek*, and nothing is more clearly charg'd upon the ancient manners than this is. Poets, *Greek* and *Roman*, furniſh

niſh us very plentifully with the ſentiment. In proof of the cuſtom being common, and an argument of no expectation of a world to come, let us view *Crito* fondly perſuading *Socrates* ſome little time as yet to defer drinking the poiſon. Thus in the *Phædo* of *Plato* he delivers himſelf, "The ſun "ſhines upon the mountains, and is not "yet ſet: and I know ſeveral in your cir-"cumſtances, did not drink the poiſon, till "a long time after the order was given: "that they ſupp'd very well, and *enjoy'd any* "*thing they had a mind to.*" Further the behaviour the Apoſtle refers to, was too ſeriouſly confirm'd by many during the rage of the plague at *Athens*, and very ſorely lamented by *Thucidydes*. The miſery of the time was no obſtacle to the liberty of indulging every kind of pleaſure, which each imagin'd he was under, when frequent example made men bold to enter, even in the laſt hours of life, upon actions reproachful to nature. This they more eaſily ventur'd upon, as there was no check from a belief in a Providence, or any apprehenſions concerning

cerning an Hereafter to give them any ſort of diſturbance in their joys. No wonder a ſurvey of theſe ill habits and cuſtoms rous'd quick and warm reflections from the Apoſtle, eſpecially when he was able to baffle their favourite meaſures in terms, they were well acquainted with.

Καὶ πίνε, καὶ τέρπε —— ἐ γαρ ἐις ἄιει
—— Πιόμεθ' ——

Lines like theſe were rules and ſongs every day at hand and in their thoughts. Very ingeniouſly therefore does St. *Paul* attack them with ſentiments and words of their own: and he proceeds moſt movingly, and with oratorical force, *Be not deceived, evil communications corrupt good manners.* φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρῆθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαὶ — *Awake to righteouſneſs and ſin not, for ſome have not the knowledge of God, I ſpeak this to your ſhame.*" The line from the *Thais* of the comic ſage *Menander* is in the argument introduc'd with an aſſurance and freedom the learned uſe, when they give good precepts, and ſtrengthen them by claſſic authority.

The

The ready faculty of St. *Paul* in making references to learning and learned authors has appear'd from many inſtances; yet none more familiarly argues it, than the following: It is conciſe, and bears *attic* reaſoning, when the apoſtle writes, *I have fought with Beaſts at Epheſus.* He points to a caſe, the learned were generally acquainted with, and there is a neceſſity, whilſt he ſpeaks to make a reference to one particular event. This was the caſe of *Heraclitus* the *Epheſian*, whoſe life and hiſtory ſtood in ſuch a degree of light, no learned perſon in the time of St. *Paul*, reading his words, could avoid making the reference. The figure, the Apoſtle makes uſe of on the occaſion, as well as the place, the ſcene of his ſufferings, lead us to the point. Εθηριομάχησα, *I have fought with beaſts*, this would have been difficult and deficient without alluſion to the cataſtrophe of *Heraclitus.* The detail of the misfortunes of this philoſopher at *Epheſus* is tranſmitted in his ſecond epiſtle to *Hermodorus.* In which we meet with a full relation of the barba-

rous and brutal uſage, his violent and outrageous fellow citizens brought upon that worthy perſon. Ancient times regiſter not a private diſtreſs more remarkable. *Heraclitus* himſelf firſt deliver'd down the *Epheſians* as brutes in their behaviour. The *Acts* of the *Apoſtles* repreſent St. *Paul* undergoing ſufferings in the ſame city *Epheſus*, and ſo near in kind, the ſimilitude between them in their grievances is ſtriking, and not to be overlook'd. And St. *Paul* in his relation does ſo directly tally with the caſe of *Heraclitus*, that we cannot help making the compariſon. Other matters bring us to the ſame way of judging. Direct expreſſions, a manner of ſtyle and ſentiments, with even a like temper and earneſtneſs in cauſes of piety and virtue, are to be trac'd by ſetting and conſidering the writings of *Heraclitus* and St. *Paul* together. A reaſonable argument the Apoſtle would not forget the philoſopher in a caſe through which he ſtill more reſembled him.

No leſs accidental from a writer of imagination

gination and quick thought, but equally ſtriking and claſſical is that figure, into which in the following caſe the Apoſtle takes freely: and this with no little vehemence. The affair here follows in the words of St. *Paul*. *It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you, and ſuch as is not ſo much as named amongſt the Gentiles, that one ſhould have his father's wife.* 1. Ep. Cor. 5. 1. St. *Paul* guides himſelf by the common ſentiments in *Greece*, ariſing from the cataſtrophe of *Oedipus*, for that had wonderfully affected all the people by means of the play of *Sophocles*. This had rais'd an univerſal deteſtation and horror upon the inceſtuous crime, here figuratively introduc'd, not without the higheſt reſentment; for we find the Apoſtle was touch'd to the quick, and the rivalſhip he complains of was not to be endur'd. Nor can we be ſurpris'd at his being diſturb'd on this occaſion. *Corinth* was a ſplendid acquiſition to the chriſtian cauſe: a city of fame, full crouded from all parts: full of buſineſs, full of ingenious, and learned men: a theatre fit

for ſo great a maſter and præceptor to ſhew himſelf in: and his prize in obtaining a church there is ſet down with thoſe marks of diſtinction gain'd to himſelf, that we evidently ſee at what rate he valu'd his ſucceſs in that renowned city. The heavy reproach intimated to be upon his *Corinthians* cannot well paſs as a litteral truth, and on that account incites us to ſeek for a figurative explication. Such a real crime is too præmature and enormous for the infant ſtate of that Church, nor can we with probability ſuppoſe ſo heavy a ſcandal to have happen'd among Chriſtians, not ſo by birth and education, and in courſe, but who were ſuch by free choice, from ſincere reſolution, and with the greateſt purity and ſimplicity. Theſe conſiderations naturally incline us to accept of thoſe repreſentations of the Apoſtle, which lead us to imagine he ſpeaks figuratively, and does not ſo charge his converts with a tranſgreſſion moſt repugnant to the life and inſtitutes, they lately and voluntarily had engag'd themſelves in.

The

The burthen of the Apoſtle's complaint, all through each of his epiſtles to the church of *Corinth* is well known to have been occaſion'd by the intruſion of a falſe teacher amongſt them. We ſhall find the perſon and his fault overlaid with like terms to thoſe we have read: and on the other part the good and chriſtian behaviour to be in phraſe and language, belonging to the ſame kind of alluſive expreſſions. Thus the Apoſtle calls *Chriſt* their *Father*: thoſe he had taught he ſtiles *a pure Virgin, whom he had eſpouſed to Chriſt.* St. *Paul* caſts his eye upon the falſe teacher, and ſtigmatiſes his falſe doctrine, when in the following queſtions he continues his reſentment: *Know you not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? purge out therefore the old leaven that ye may be a new lump. Therefore put away from you that wicked perſon. Know ye not, that your bodies are the members of Chriſt? ſhall I then take the members of Chriſt, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.*

The ſecond epiſtle ends, as might well

be expected, in caution againſt debates, envyings, and with inſinuations many have ſinned, and have not repented of the *uncleanneſs*, and *fornication*, and *laſciviouſneſs*, which they have committed: and hereupon, not in conſequence of any immoral guilt, but of diſſenſions in opinion he exhorts them to *pray to God to be of one mind.*

Though St. *Paul* uſes figure, yet originally the force of it proceeds from the horrors in common, eſpecially prevailing in the populous city *Corinth*, concerning the crime of inceſt, thank heaven, hardly heard of, not without a ſhock and trembling to be ſpoken of. It may be a matter of difficulty to ſurmiſe the cauſes of this and other misfortunes that *Oedipus* fell into. In youth belov'd and rich, and of royal extraction, on a publick occaſion he declar'd he was ſufficient to take care of himſelf, and was in no want of aſſiſtance from above. In ſearching this caſe no other cauſe occurs, but calamities many are ſoon found to come ruſhing on after this contemptuous and

and ſelf ſufficient declaration, and the happy unhappy *Oedipus* becomes a ſtandard of misfortunes, and a publick example of miſery to all the world.

Now we have paſs'd through this inſtance of claſſic and ancient inſtruction, it will be no little pleaſure to obſerve we can be reliev'd by active and lively ſtrokes of wit and ingenuity, which caught the Apoſtle, as well as thoſe of the more ſerious caſt. His reports of the variety of ſpiritual gifts, beſtow'd upon the church of *Corinth*, will ſufficiently ſatisfy us in this point. His reference to the famous apologue of *Menenius Agrippa* on mount *Sacer* fully convinces us in this caſe. We come to a certainty, what author he was led by. — It was *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who came to *Rome*, juſt as the war between *Auguſtus* and *Anthony* ended, about 64 years preceding the time St. *Paul* himſelf died there. But whence is the confirmation St. *Paul* tracks after *Dionyſius*, and not after other authors? the parts and organs of the body, it muſt be

allow'd had before been repreſented as ſubſiſting in fellowſhip and ſociety with each other: had by *Xenophon* and *Menander*, and other early writers been united in brotherhood and a community between them. But *Menenius* was the firſt, who drew this intercourſe into talk and dramatical altercation. *Dionyſius* therefore remarks that the fiction of the parts of the body ſpeaking each to the other was the invention of *Menenius*. That *Greek* hiſtorian writes of him as συμπλάσας having fram'd the ſtory, and inſtructs us the popular Senator model'd his diſcourſe into a caſt and manner after the fables of *Æſop*. Accordingly the dramatical converſe, ſuch as St *Paul* takes to, is aſſum'd, for thus he urges. 2. Ep. Cor. 12. 15. *If the foot ſhould ſay, becauſe I am not the hand, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body?* 16. *And if the ear ſhall ſay, becauſe I am not the eye, I am not of the body, is it therefore not of the body?* This diſcovers, he ſketch'd his plan and reaſoning from thoſe writers who had publiſh'd it in the fable way, in which there was ſtory and talking

talking. The firſt, and he almoſt ſingle, is *Dionyſius:* for *Plutarch* is very brief, and ſcarcely enters into any diſcourſe between the plaintiffs and the defendants of the body. We may hence gather a curious point of admiration: which is, that St. *Paul* was ſo early acquainted with a voluminous author in the ſpace of 55 years after he was publiſh'd, and as hath been remark'd within about 64 before the Apoſtle ſuffer'd at *Rome.* In ſo ſhort interval, when there was no Printing, circulated the manuſcript Volume of *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* in *Greece,* and was known and read by the ſcholars there.

The character of the chief companion of St. *Paul,* that of St. *Luke,* bears a part in confirming the learned character of St. *Paul.* The purity of the *Greek* in St. *Luke* is a good voucher for this opinion. The ſame compliment, which paſſes through St. *Luke* upon St. *Paul,* might alſo be imagin'd from other companions eſpecially from *Titus,* whoſe ſtudious caſt from childhood juſtifies

in

in great meaſure, what is here ſaid. Claſſic learning was cultivated and reſpected amongſt them. An high inſtance St. *Paul* gives in his epiſtle to *Titus*, when he obſerves the *Cretans were always lyars.* This paſſage may lead us to the heights of learning. That it is *Attic* and claſſic nothing more to that taſte can be offer'd, however by the *Engliſh* rendring this eſtimate of it may be prevented. Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται was a proverb over claſſic mouths, equally celebrated with any the *Athenian* ſages ever produc'd. St. *Paul* very judiciouſly entitles it a ſaying of a prophet of their own, a fellow countryman to thoſe, with whom *Titus* then ſojourn'd. It was the ſaying of *Epimenides*, equally celebrated in his feats at *Athens*, and *Crete*. At *Athens*, and in his own country *Crete*, a rival of *Athens* even for learning, he was eſteem'd a prophet, oracular, a poet, a divine, and he has the honour to be rank'd with the *ſeven Wiſe men.* A ſcholiaſt of *Lucian* upon this venerable perſon ſets him forth on a ſacred footing upon account of the paſſage, he writes ὁ Επιμενίδης

χρὴς

χρὴς ἦν χρησμολόγος, ἔ και τὸ "χρήτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσαι," λόγιον. In giving a more favourable tranſlation we will ſay, the *Cretans* were always *Fabuliſts*, that is, they were accuſtom'd to publiſh religious ſentiments in words, not to be taken literally, but to be reſolv'd into hidden matters, that could only be fully known through the help of explaining.

Callimachus, in his encomiums of *Jupiter*, lively and learnedly adapts the famous ſentence, and he takes occaſion from it very ingeniouſly to aſſert the immortal nature of the *Deity*. The hymn and panegyric of *Callimachus* upon *Jupiter*, and the verſes now before us, often are review'd by the ſtudious and learned eye. They ſtand thus in that poetical and very learned Divine.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσαι. — καί γαρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο. συ δ' ἐ θάνες, ἐσσί γαρ ἀιει.

Yes, yes, the *Cretans*, fabuliſts they are,
The Cretans built a tomb for *Jupiter*.
O King, who never dieſt, they built for thee,
Although thou always art, ſhalt always be.

The

The ſcholiaſt obſerves in his own time the *Cretans* would ſhew the ſepulchre of *Jupiter*; for having formerly pretended the burying of *Jupiter* to ſave him from his father, the tomb was then to be ſeen. *Lucretius*, who with maſterly ſenſe and great ability unfolds the myſteries of the mother of the Gods, interweaves this *Cretan* hiſtory of *Jupiter* as bearing a ſhare in the ceremonies ſacred to her, and there writes,

Dictæos referunt Curetas, qui Jovis illum
Vagitum in Creta nondum occultaſſe feruntur,
Cum pueri circa puerum pernice chorea
Armati in numerum pulſarent æribus æra,
Ne Saturnus eum malis mandaret adeptus,
Æternumque daret matri ſub pectore volnus.

Chryſoſtom puzzles us in this affair: he calls the author, not with St. *Paul* a prophet, but a poet: and he diſcovers he means *Callimachus*, when he ſhould have meant *Epimenides*. The learned *Chryſoſtom* argues upon the caſe, and urges St. *Paul* could proceed no further in the verſe. He ſays directly,

rectly, he could not have wrote down

——— καὶ γαρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ετεκτήναν]ο. σύ γαρ ἐ θανες, ἐσσὶ γαρ ἀιει.

For by doing this the Apoſtle would have dictated to us to pay worſhip and homage to the heathen god *Jupiter*, a precept not to be obey'd without infringement upon the whole chriſtian Doctrines. From whence it appears *Chryſoſtom* had his eye entirely upon the hymn of *Callimachus*, and we may incline to believe his copy of the Teſtament hardly preſented him with the remaining half part of the verſe, as we all now univerſally read it, and from great authority are aſſur'd, it is that of *Epimenides*.

Though the firſt part of the verſe was a matter of praiſe, yet in the mouth of St. *Paul* it is to be receiv'd with reſtriction, for the Apoſtle is in the point of warning his diſciple from *fables* and devices *that turn from the truth*. It anſwers his purpoſe to make *Titus* ſenſible, during his preſent reſidence and evangelic employ, he was amongſt thoſe, whoſe learning had through

a length of ages been noted for the turn it always bore to myſtery and fable. A ſtronger proof could not be produc'd than this ſaying of *Epimenides*. This Divine was not only author, but under the load of many venerable titles, an inſtance the higheſt of the character deſign'd by it. His luſtrations, his verſes, his inventions, his fame from immemorial time, all crowd to aſſure us of their univerſal regard beſtow'd upon him for his knowledge in myſteries. St. *Paul* was ſenſible how high he went upon this occaſion, and that he touch'd upon, and reach'd up to the utmoſt heights of *heathen* knowledge, the moſt celebrated parts of which had flown down in fable. *Epimenides* caught his ſentence from a father in knowledge *Heſiod*; and that we may not doubt the *Cretans* were honoured in the ſentence, you will obſerve in *Heſiod* the *Muſes*, the queens of ſcience, are pleaſed to take the appellation of *fabuliſts*, on themſelves.

Τόν δε μέ πρώτισ-α θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπαν
Μῶσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς Αἰγιόχοιο.

Ποιμένες

Ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κακ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον,
Ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
Ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι.

Olympic Muſes, daughters of great Jove,
Me at the firſt thus leſſon, and approve.
Shepherds, who watch the long and dreary night,
Whoſe joys are feaſts, but wiſdom no delight;
We in our arts have various ways to pleaſe,
As ſeeming truths we utter falſities.
And at our will another turn profeſs,
Plain truths we cover in diſguiſed dreſs.

If we reſt upon this paſſage as the Rule of poetry, in *Heſiod* we muſt look upon it too as the principle of divine poetry, or that which concerns the hiſtory and being of their Gods, a circumſtance ſufficient to put a Chriſtian upon his guard not to be carried away by ſuch authorities. *Titus* in *Crete* was where fable reign'd in the higheſt degree. *Epimenides*, though his countrymen humour'd that caſt in religious enquiries, yet brought the recommendation of it received as it was from *Heſiod*, a point very apparent when

when we conſider in what manner the *Muſes* and the *Cretans* aſpire to one and the ſame art. One of the lines ſtands nearly the ſame in *Homer*, and in *Heſiod:* and in the terreſtrial *Apollo* it is thought to contain the whole art of *epic* poetry: that depends upon a mixture of truth and fictions. But ſuch fictions which are conformable to truth. The perſon before *Penelope* is diſſembled, in reality *Ulyſſes*, but pretended to be another. The ſtory is true, but again feign'd in the perſon: *Penelope* liſtens to the adventures related, and *Homer* celebrates *Ulyſſes* upon his ingenious inventions:

— ψέυδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὅμοια.

Thus the fam'd hero, perfected in wiles,
With fair ſimilitude of truth beguiles.
Pope.

This art of fiction is the ſoul of *epic* poetry, and ſtands confeſs'd to all in nothing clearer, than in thoſe parts the Gods bear in ſublime tranſactions: and who are all through *Homer*, often as they appear, ſubject

ject to that ſkill the *Cretans* profeſs'd, myſterious and allegoric unravellings. A practice however celebrated of old, not at all proper for a Chriſtian to perſue.

Hitherto little notice has been taken of the latter part of the verſe of *Epimenides*.

κακὰ θηρία, γαςέρες ἀργάι.

The firſt is honourary, the laſt is hardly foul language. If there was a taſte in *Greece*, that made harſh expreſſions paſſable and tolerable, let that authorize theſe in *Epimenides*. The firſt exemplars of perfect ſpeaking, the ſpeeches of *Eſchines* and *Demoſthenes* abound with addreſſes to each other equally harſh and unpleaſing. Foul language, ribaldry, and even low *Billingſgate* ſtuff, are in danger of being charg'd at leaſt upon one of them, unleſs a gentler and milder can be admitted, than that which is the litteral and plain ſenſe. *Homer* chides and reprimands in nearly the ſame terms. With him it is the language of a brother to a brother, and with others under mutual

reſpect, between whom the coarſeſt and ſhocking abuſes are not to be ſuppos'd. And in theſe inſtances we go over them, as if uſe and time had made them figurative, and to be tolerated When in *Heſiod* we read the terms equal to theſe, for in him they are κακὰ ἐλέγκεα, γαςέρες οἶον, and this when fabling ſeemed to have it's birth, and the *Muſes* appear the ſponſors, at this ſo delicate a moment, when literature the more humane and polite, receiv'd a beginning, even then who would be ſo raſh to ſay, they were deliver'd groſs, and abounded with ſcurrility? *Callimachus* highly inſpirited, and triumphant in his eſcape, looks back upon the *Cretans*, allows them fabuliſts, and with uncommon joy haſtens thence into the honours of the *Jupiter*, whoſe praiſes he ſings. The *Cretans* he exclaims are always *Fabuliſts:* cunning no doubt as foxes, ſly and overreaching: their words lead one way, truth another. Thus far we may admit prophets, divines, poets and oracular perſons, and mythologiſts to fall under the cenſure of a deſign to deceive us. We will return upon them

them in our remarks upon their deluſive ways, in the manner of delivering their knowledge; but the ſcandal of a beaſtly and a gluttonous life is not properly a ſhare of the reproach brought upon them.

The preſent reflections have engag'd us upon account of *Attic* learning, and as they ſerve to ſhew St. *Paul* applying to claſſic authorities, agreeable to the faſhion and cuſtom with the learned in his own time. St. *Paul* in his conduct at *Athens* pays remarkable reſpect to the learning and inſtitutions of the place, in founding the doctrines, repentance, the removal of idols, the reſurrection, and his declaration of the true God, upon principles, the *Athenians* beforehand had receiv'd. Their own knowledge is improv'd, not overturn'd. Such regard is paid to their inſtitution, which was to learn truth, and to teach it. The appeals to *Attic* authorities, where the ſubject ſuffer'd, are juſt encomiums of their learned life and cuſtoms. St. *Paul* was ſenſible upon what ſpot he pleaded. He knew from the

diſcipline, which prevail'd there, from the fame of *Athens*, and from the admiration, with which all the world celebrated the learned city, that it juſtly had acquir'd the fame of being *nobiliſſimum orbis Gymnaſium*. St. *Paul* ſaw all around him ſigns and monuments of ſcience and art flouriſhing. Beauteous edifices were ſet apart for the learned, as in its place hath already been remember'd; as were beauteous colonades, and large ſpaces for walks and gardens. In favour of the learned their liberties were extended, revenues, endowments and privileges were eſtabliſh'd. Their great repute had brought kings, and princes, and perſons of firſt note in diſtant regions to come and reſide with them, and to learn and to make a proficiency with them. Therefore *Diodorus Siculus* ſtyles *Athens* κοινὸν πάντων παιδευτήριον. To preſerve which high compliment we cannot do better than by naming it, an Univerſity. With *Demoſthenes Athens* is the ſoul, the ſun, the eye of *Greece*.

In earlieſt times *Athens* was the ſchool of all

all ſerviceable knowledge, uſeful to mankind. The ſeveral branches are diſtinguiſh'd copiouſly and ingeniouſly in a ſpeech of *Tully:* Adſunt Athenienſes, unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, jura, leges ortæ, atque in omnes terras diſtributæ putantur. True it is, the ancient city renown'd for arts and arms, now lies periſh'd; and what makes the victory more melancholy, the city and her buildings, works of the moſt exquiſite ſkill, are become a prey to rude barbarians. But her better part, her knowledge and ſeveral ſciences were not of a nature to be overturn'd. They could be tranſplanted, and be receiv'd, wherever there exiſted a regard for improving mankind. *Juvenal* in the following lines very beautifully ſets forth the travels and migrations of learning, ſtill from *Athens* dating her firſt movements.

——— Sed Cantaber unde
Stoicus, antiqui præſertim ætate Metelli,
Nunc totus Graius, noſtraſque habet orbis Athenas.
Gallia cauſidicos docuit facunda Britanos.
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.

We *Britons* have our ſhare in the learned *Athens*, attended with all thoſe emoluments, which in *Greece* compos'd her ancient ſplendor. *Athens* ſurvives, and reſts in thoſe ſeats of the Muſes, which inherit the treaſures, and inſtitutions of her they owe their birth to. The ſame deſigns in theſe happily ſucceed of improving the moſt noble faculties men are endow'd with, their reaſon and underſtanding. What brought on ancient *Athens* the love and eſteem of the world, on theſe her daughters derives the ſame regard and affection, who were ſure to move the friendſhip of the reſt of the world by their inſtitutions to exalt thoſe faculties, by which nature has exalted men above the other parts of the creation. The example of St. *Paul* has already ſanctified the life of learning; and the daily accruing benefits will fill the candidates of wiſdom and knowledge with thankfulneſs towards him, who has appointed their bounds, habitation, and time for obtaining the greateſt bleſſing, that can befall them.

We cannot divide our prayers and wiſhes, they muſt be in common and the ſame for either Univerſity. Filial piety leads, when we are particular in thoſe marks of welfare and proſperity, our own Parent enjoys. Thus happily we may begin with her, whoſe firſt endeavour is, the rudiment and principle of her laws and ſtatutes, to impreſs upon our minds our duty to God, to obſerve that we acquaint our ſelves with him, and that we make him our friend and guide in all our employments. So happily we receive a principle of religion and virtue to continue with us on every occaſion during life. Our duty to God is ſucceeded by our duty to the world, where with our inclination and ability, we are found able and willing to ſerve the beſt of Kings, and to promote the moſt excellent government to the utmoſt of our power. Our *Alma Mater* turns us not out bigots to ſlaviſh maxims, but inſpires her ſons, as a true ancient *Roman* matron, with ſentiments of virtuous liberty, and ſends us forth form'd to join in love and ſupport of the proteſtant ſuc-

ceſſion, under which the ſubject is ſecur'd in the enjoyment of a happy freedom, and various bleſſings. In return for theſe worthy ends of our education our *Alma Mater* finds herſelf to have been diſtinguiſh'd by many inſtances of royal favour and regard. The two moſt gracious princes of the proteſtant line have condeſcended to give publick marks, how well the Throne and Univerſity were conſorted. Theſe Sovereings have honour'd our Univerſity with their Preſence, what occaſions a Jubilee within thoſe learned walls; and many good omens for the welfare of learning are dated from ſuch days. Subſequent to the firſt royal viſit, quickly arriv'd that exceſſive treaſure, the preſent *royal* Library at once brought in amongſt us, exceeding a ſlow and riſing collection for centuries. A king's gift this truly is, anſwering in the higheſt ſenſe to the grace of beſtowing Majeſty, every day as time flows on, more and more known, and procuring the greateſt thankfulneſs with the ſincereſt gratitude. The ſacred order, and ſtudy of divinity, the ſame royal bene-

benefactors have ſingularly encourag'd by appointing ſalaries, and calling forth a certain number of preachers to explain and ſet forth the ſcripture learning before their own family. To the dead they have added the aſſiſtance of the living learned languages, and by appointing a Profeſſor with a large revenue have enter'd upon thoſe meaſures, that tend to open and make familiar the tranſactions of the preſent kingdoms and ſtates in *Europe*, ſo that another full fountain of knowledge is brought to enlarge the thoughts, and improve the minds of the Learned. Through the gifts and encouragement of the ſame royal hands our mean and low apartments are become high and ſtately edifices. In the one of which, rival to the art and ſtructures in ancient *Athens*, ſtands the King and benefactor, in that life ſculpture gives him: where yet he ſeems to live, and yet raiſes the gratitude of the crowds, that frequent there. He leads in a line of kings; and ſecond to him ariſes another image reſembling the late father of his country, the

love

love of his people, on whom the guardian genius of his kingdoms had from the beginning attended. Amidſt all the wonderful ſucceſſes which have crown'd his councils and his arms, we ſhall not loſe thoſe grateful remembrances due to the affection, that has diſtinguiſh'd this ſeat of learning.

Under the ſame roof, and in the ſame line of patrons, next in order ſtands He, almoſt a prince, *Charles* Duke of *Somerſet*. It would be doing the greateſt injury to forget, how much the privileges and intereſts of the Univerſity engag'd the whole heart of this moſt noble patron. It is well known, how he became a mediator with the ſovereign, and in one remarkable caſe, a prelude for future times, obtain'd a royal college to be left free in their elections, without intervention of ſuperior power. Though the firſt of the higheſt rank in the kingdom, that gave him not in his own opinion the luſtre, which he receiv'd by being the firſt and the guardian of the Univerſity. Often did he expreſs his attention

tention to the welfare of the Univerſity: at critical times aſſiſted them by ſeaſonable and large preſents: at one time in particular to preſerve the credit of their preſs, and with this their learned fame to the world: at another, to join with them in their expreſſions of loyalty and demonſtrations of their attachment to the houſe of *Hannover*. And when the vain hopes of the rebellion were at an end, and the enemies of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion diſappear'd without the neceſſity of employing force againſt them, he took not back the ſum he had join'd to that of the Univerſity, but left it without breaking the aſſociation it had made, deſtin'd for purpoſes of their common cheſt. Ever watchful of the honours and privileges of this learned common-wealth, day after day, as opportunity then ſerv'd, and death was approaching, as long as he had breath, he profeſs'd to be their friend and ſervant. Now in imitation of ancient cities he ſtands reviv'd in ſtatue a greateſt friend, and never to be forgotten patriot of the place.

The

The marble ſpeaks the noble youth it bears,
Enrob'd with honours in the bloom of years.
This *Seymour* was, when firſt the taſk began
Of patriot, peer, of chancellor and man.
Such, when the royal mace he ſcorn'd to raiſe,
Or taint for bigot *Rome* his early days.
But greatly anſwer'd in his country's cauſe,
Her ſervant ſole, and *not above her laws.*
Retir'd a victor, of a ſoul refin'd
Above the vulgar, to befriend mankind.
Bright learning guards, and on our *Athens* ſhed
The dignities, that on himſelf were laid:
Rank'd near the beſt of ſovereings appears,
In fame illuſtrious to unbounded years.

Oft in theſe walls, the young and nobler race
Shall vie with high born *Somerſet* for place:
Oft to themſelves repeat, how here he ſtood
A patriot great, full reſolute, and good.

In the ſame place of publick reſort, for piety and gratitude muſt have their relief, in faireſt marble will ſtand *Thomas Holles* duke of *Newcaſtle*, it is a memorial will never decay how fortunately the Univerſity found in him a guardian from the moſt noble, a moſt aſſidious and moſt faithful miniſter

niſter to his king, in power gracious and condeſcending, in popularity exceeding what has been heard, a ſcholar active and polite, and conſummate in the execution of buſineſs; and of that height of gratitude to the place of his education beſt judg'd of by the happy union, with which all conſpir'd to honour him. If there is in ſculpture to deliver down the perſon, in whom the good fortune of learning and the Univerſity then dwelt and exerted it ſelf, grateful poſterity will receive him with equal love and admiration, as they will alike find themſelves indebted to him for the ſplendor and intereſts of learning, with which without extraordinary divination we may be aſſur'd they will receive it.

More eſpecially as it hath pleaſed Providence to raiſe up from amongſt our ſelves a ſucceſſor, beginning and with equal ſteps advancing to adorn and patronize the Univerſity. *Auguſtus Henry Fitzroy* duke of *Grafton*, ſuperior to little doubts and managements, offers himſelf, and unanimouſly receiv'd

receiv'd, is adopted the patron and protector of theſe learned ſocieties, and of the intereſts by which they ſubſiſt. The Inſtallation is compleated. Our Alma Mater view'd him with that diſtinction, as when in earlier times ſhe careſs'd her *Burleigh*, in later her *Townſhend*, her *Walpole*, her *Pelham*, renown'd as able counſellors and miniſters to their Sovereigns. But be aſſur'd nevertheleſs our Alma Mater glories in them as fortified by religion and liberal education. The ſame ſentiments the thouſands conceiv'd in their boſoms, when with hope and joy they attended the illuſtrious Inſtallation: when they heard and ſaw the preſent Chancellor with ſo great modeſty ſubmit himſelf to the province, he was entring upon; at the ſame time firm as thoſe of moſt experienc'd years, lively and vigorous in receiving his high Office, nor at length diſmiſſing the numerous audience without ample and abounding ſatisfaction in regard to events, that may hereafter aſſiſt or promote our learned *Athens*.

May emoluments of this kind for ever diſtinguiſh our *Alma Mater*. May ſhe be perpetual and immortal : may ſhe be favour'd in the world, as her ſervices will always be extenſive, and unlimited in their good effects to the world. Not you, nor I, nor many are what *Athens* is. She lives in all her ſons variouſly ſeated as they are, at home or abroad, in church or the ſtate, in councils or at the bar, in the city in the camp, or over the whole kingdom. So will ſhe in every province and office, in every houſe and family, in every rank and order, be acknowledg'd and be rever'd. And this will be, wherever and as long as the character of a good education is eſtimable : what muſt for ever remain deſirable and to be preferr'd, ſince it will always be moſt excellent in us to be found of a life and manners, pious not impious, humane not violent : acting the wiſe and proper part, not the proud and ſelfiſh : emulous not envious, prudent and diſcreet, not illiberal, not ignorant, not inſenſible. So does either *Athens* become fountains of the publick wiſdom

wiſdom, lights and ornaments of the kingdom. Their ſafety and flouriſhing ſtate, under the proteſtant ſucceſſion, favourable to liberty and the beſt improvements, we may preſume to be without end. More eſpecially when we can with ſubmiſſion unite the bleſſings of Heaven, for the happy union between religion and learning St. *Paul* ſingularly confirm'd, when he preach'd at *Athens*.

FINISHED
THE CHANCELLOR BEING
IN THE UNIVERSITY
3d JULY M.DCC.LXIX.